ROWANDUZ: A KURDISH ADMINISTRATIVE AND MERCANTILE CENTER

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by
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Abstract

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[121] [105] This study has two purposes, the first of which is an analysis and interpretation of the culture of Rowanduz, a Kurdish administrative and mercantile town of northern Iraq. In carrying out this purpose, it is necessary to make reference to wider cultural horizons in Iraq and the Middle East. On the other hand, inasmuch as detailed, localized treatments of the Kurds have not been previously attempted, this study of Rowanduz is also to contribute to the [40] ethnology of the Middle East. The Kurds are a Muslim people [61] numbering several millions, who inhabit the mountainous [131] region where the frontiers of Iraq, Iran, Russia, Syria, and Turkey meet. The second purpose of this study is the delineation of the impact of the modern state on the structure of the society of the town and the district within [114] which it lies. The materials were obtained from seven weeks' intensive investigation in the summer of 1951.

An analysis and interpretation of the culture of Rowanduz are presented in six areas of discussion: 1) [228] the administrative center, 2) the mercantile center, 3) house, dress, and diet, 4) the society, 5) the family, [16] 6) religious life. The population of the town numbers about 3000 and is basically made up of merchants,

[p. i(a)]

105 [2] craftsmen, laborers, and servants. The town dominates a large district of agricultural villages both as a center of government administration and as one of commerce. Detailed descriptions of the aspects of life pertinent to the areas of discussion are given.

The most important focus of investigation, connected with the second object of the study, is found to be the society of the town. Formerly, Kurdish society, a composite of both tribal and feudal systems, was "primitive" or "pseudo-primitive" in character. It consisted of a mass of commoners, tenants or tribesmen, ruled by a hereditary aristocracy, and advancement from the first class to the second was impossible. The incursion of the modern state has added a new class to this society, a government elite, and offers the possibility of attaining the highest social rank through education to the commoners of the older systems.

The conclusions implement the two purposes of the study. 1) Kurdish culture, as represented in Rowanduz, is discovered to be strongly regulated by Islam and to have many general similarities to that of Islamic peoples elsewhere, in spite of numerous peculiarities. 2) The impact of the modern state is changing the structure of Kurdish society and threatens to eliminate the native aristocracy by replacing it with the government elite. The Kurdish chieftains have reacted to this with a series of revolts, while many of the commoners are being absorbed into the new order, particularly in towns like Rowanduz. Popular understanding of the reaction, as well as of the transformat

[p. i(b)]

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of the commoners into a body of citizenry, is obscured 105
by a nationalistic ideology directed against the rulers 121
(who belong to other ethnic groups) of the Kurds. A
movement such as this has important relevance to the
contemporary Middle East at large.

[p. i(c)]

PREFACE

This study is the result of work undertaken while the investigator was a member of the University of Michigan 1951 Expedition to Iraq and Iran. He must first express his gratitude to the director of the expedition, Professor George G. Cameron, and to the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research for having made this inquiry possible. The investigator lived in the town of Rowanduz, a Kurdish administrative and mercantile center in northern Iraq, for a period of seven weeks in the summer of 1951, a large part of this time as a guest in the home of a Kurdish merchant. He was accompanied by an interpreter, a former employee of the intelligence service of the British Army, and the facility with which much of this information was gathered can be attributed to the ability and ingenuity of this person. The investigator is well aware of the shortcomings which can arise from the use of an interpreter and the brevity of a visit. In the first regard, however, the repetition of inquiries and the retranslation of recorded narratives to the townspeople revealed that a considerable degree of accuracy in this medium was being obtained. The teachers of the town's schools offered additional corrections and amplification. There is still, of course, the possibility of error, but the investigator feels that mistakes must be few in number, not only because of the ability of his

119 [122] [123] 116 124

interpreter and commentator, but because he found little which seemed strange or anomalous with relation to his studies of other Islamic cultures. The second failing is more annoying and the deficits in information arising from this difficulty have been indicated from time to time in the text. Nevertheless, it is felt that the limited aims of this undertaking, discussed in the initial and concluding chapters, have been achieved. The investigator was fortunate in having a plurality of informants, men of various ages and callings, with whom narratives could be rechecked. Their services were volunteered, and the only compensation asked was a similar exposition, by the investigator, of life in the United States. The information was recorded in many places in the town, the homes, the shops, the gardens, the club, and the mosque, and supplemented by a photographic record. 114 124

The investigator must next note his deep appreciation for the aid afforded him by the *qaimaqam* of Rowanduz, Saad 'Ali Beg, and Mr. Mahmud al-Amin of the Iraq Museum who facilitated his relationship with the local government. He is also obligated to H. E. Naji al-Asil, Director-General of Antiquities, under whose auspices the expedition conducted its work. A great debt is acknowledged to Professors Leslie A. White, Mischa Titiev, and Arthur E. R. Boak of the University of Michigan for their guidance in the preparation of the manuscript and the incisive exposition of its problems. Both Professors George G. Cameron and Douglas D. 114 [122]

tary of the University's expedition have continued as sources 114
of leadership and inspiration. Gratitude must be expressed to Professor N. Marbury Efimenco and Mr. Ernest N. McCarus of the University of Michigan, the former for his help in checking the points related to government administration and the latter for a careful review of the foreign words and phrases. Lastly, it remains to thank the townspeople of Rowanduz and their _mukhtar_, Ra'uf Amin al-'Abbasi, for their friendship and generous hospitality without which this investigation would have been impossible. It is hoped that a study of their life and problems will in some way repay them for their kindness.

Words from Arabic, Kurdish, Turkish, and other 128.
languages have been underscored in the text, but accent 104
marks have been omitted. The reader will find in the appendix a glossary of these words in complete transcription.

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CHAPTER I

KURDISTAN AND [illegible]

Kurdistan, "the land of the Kurds," is an area of the Middle East which cannot be defined by its environmental peculiarities or its political unity. The Kurds, a Muslim people whose numbers are estimated at several millions, occupy that mountainous region where the frontiers of Iraq, Iran, Russia, Syria, and Turkey meet, an area of land extending approximately from Aleppo to Tabriz. This corresponds to the southern portion of the complex of mountains sometimes called the "Armenian Knot," in which the Taurus and Black Sea ranges of Turkey join before fanning out as the Elburz and Zagros formations of Iran. Politically, Kurdistan is divided between five governments, and for centuries has been a party to the frontier warfare of Iran, the Ottoman Empire, and Russia. Until recent decades the "Armenian Knot" has been the home of peoples who have resisted absorption into the larger nations of the Middle East, some by force of arms and others peacefully as relics of almost forgotten Christian and Muslim sects. Of such groups, one might mention the Armenians, historically the northern neighbors of the Kurds, the Nestorian and Chaldaean Christians, the Yezidis of Jebel Sinjar, and the Druzes of Lebanon and Syria. To the north, in the Caucasus, were the Christian

Georgians and Moslem Circassians. In addition to being inhabited by those noted for their tenacity, this country has been the meeting place of empires and cultural traditions, in the latest centuries those of the Arabs, Persians, and Turks. The Kurds, because of their numerical strength, emphasis on arms, and religion, fared far better in the aftermath of the First World War than some of their Christian neighbors. 101

By "Kurd" one has reference to an ethnic unit or nation whose most distinctive characteristics are its language and customs. Coupled with these are a large number of minor peculiarities which differentiate it from other Islamic peoples. Kurdish culture as a whole, however, is an amalgam 105 in which the more recent influences of the Arab, Persian, and Turk are easily discernable and many things, such as orthodox religious practices, may be assigned definite historical origins. Despite the abundance of foreign elements, Kurdish life has its own distinctive form. 104 The history of the Kurds has not been satisfactorily explored, and those few treatments which have appeared are, for the most part, disappointing, for they have been written by persons whose aims were far from academic or whose scholarship is doubtful. 175 Without entering the controversies which surround the antiquity of the nation, the Kurds seem to appear first in classical literature as the Karduchi of Xenophon and the Gordyaei of Strabo, a mountain people occupying much the same area as they do today.[1] Their 177 171

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[1] Driver, 1921, pp. [illegible].

language is Indo-European, closely related to Persian, and 174
they were probably a part of that same movement which brought 177
others of the Indo-European linguistic group, such as the Armenians, Hittites, and Persians, into the Middle East. Racially it is difficult to give an opinion, because little work of a modern nature has been undertaken among them. In 144
the older parlance of physical anthropology, however, they exhibit traits considered much more characteristic of the races of Europe and Central Asia than of the Arabs to the south, such as blond hair, blue eyes, fair pigmentation, and round heads. They give immediate evidence, by these older criteria, of being a mixture. In religion they are Sunnite 795
Muslims and are thus set off from the Shiite Iranians to the east. Whether this is the result of their original conversion or the continued influence of the Sunnite Turks and Turkomans is unknown.

Ethnologically almost no systematic investigations 114
have been made among the Kurds, although a few brief, but accurate, generalized descriptions are to be found.[1] These last, however, have been written by persons, administrators, missionaries, travelers, and the like, who are not ethnologists. This, in itself, need not constitute a detriment, but their primary purpose in publication was not the portrayal of a culture. It is unnecessary to review here the large number of other types of references to the Kurds, extending from ancient times to the present, except to remark that their most distinctive characteristic is their prejudice

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[1] For example, Hay, 1921.

against this people and, in many instances, their ignorance or animosity. This may be seen from one of the more recent examples:

> Some of them are farmers and shepherds, but most of them are robbers. If a Kurd has not killed six or seven men, he is not respected and considered unworthy to live. My father once told me a story he heard from one of the Kurdish chiefs. He said he had a son who was very beautiful, and this was considered quite a disgrace, for one of these chiefs is always made leader in case of war. It would also be impossible for him to marry one of the best girls unless he was a successful thief and robber. He carries with him a gun and a sword, and no matter how bloody or evil the deed he commits may be, it only adds respect and honor to his name.[1]

The unsavory reputation is not wholly without reason. In older times the Kurdish chieftains were not above plundering expeditions from their mountains and in recent years have proven incorrigible revolutionists, for reasons which will be considered in this study. This has not endeared them to their co-religionists among the Arabs, Iranians, and Turks. Secondly, many Kurds served in the *Hamidiye*, the irregular bodies of reactionary troops organized by the Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid to crush incipient liberal and nationalistic movements in the tottering Ottoman Empire, and the Armenians and other Christians who suffered from their depredations, as well as missionaries and sympathizers in Europe, have been loud in their denunciation of the Kurdish nation as a whole. Lastly, the blood feud and brigandage are well known in Kurdistan itself. The first is not concerned with nationalism, but acts to emphasize a bloodthirsty reputation, and the pursuit was the diversion of some of the chieftains at the expense of commercial travelers who, of course, had reason to complain of the tolls exacted from them. It is ridiculous, however, to suppose that the Kurds as a body are a race of murderers and thieves. 579

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[1] [illegible], 1911, p. 183.

An investigation of Kurdish life, the first object of this study, has value, not simply because the people have so often been maligned, but for the reason that the ethnology of the Middle East, a field which has only recently begun to receive adequate attention must be built up from accurate, localized descriptions. If broader analyses of contemporary Islamic culture are to be undertaken, as well as historical studies, they demand a body of data which admits of verification, the work of observers whose motives are scientific, rather than the loose aggregation of anecdotes and generalizations one has to deal with at present. One may profitably study Kurdish life, because it has been almost untouched so far as primary observation is concerned and, as the culture of a non-Arab people whose language and background is Indo-European, an inquiry into the effect of Islam in modifying its formation would not be without reward. One may properly seek to present those elements which may be proven to be unique with the Kurds and those others which may be attributed to the influence of Islam and other peoples. It is convenient here to mention the recent monograph of E. R. Leach, Social and Economic Organization of the Rowanduz Kurds, which, with the exception of some studies made many years 121 114 ago and published in Russian by V. F. Minorsky, unavailable to the investigator, seems to be the first attempt to deal in systematic fashion with the people themselves.[1] Leach's study, however, is brief and neglects a number of aspects of life, for example, the ceremonies surrounding birth, circumcision, marriage, and death, of which treatment would be desirable. Secondly, the "Rowanduz area" in Leach's work includes a wide region of investigation ranging from Erbil to the Iranian frontier and, with a few exceptions, his remarks cannot be referred to a particular village or town. Lastly, he was primarily concerned with the agricultural villages and has little to say about the town of Rowanduz itself. 111

In addition to a primary, comprehensive description of Kurdish life, a second problem, of importance to the ethnology of the Middle East as a whole, is almost forced on one. The first facet of this is the question of Kurdish nationalism, the repercussions of which have recently directed a great deal of popular attention to this group. Nationalism, which requires no new definition here, is a variant of ethnocentrism. In its best known contemporary forms it evolved in Europe during the last two centuries. The nation, in such thinking, is differentiated from others by criteria, often highly fictional, of race or culture. The goal of nationalism is the realization of an autonomous state. In this it achieves a political aim, but its real 171 121 668 determinants are usually economic, the reaction against exploitation by those considered to be aliens. Occasionally it conceals the desire to exploit others, as exemplified in the recent cases of "Germans" of Danzig or the Sudetenland. The trappings of European nationalism are singularly uniform. The nationalists find for their group a glorious historical past and a wealth of intellectual and artistic achievements. It is interesting to consider how many national "epic poems" and folk heroes have come to light in Europe in the last century. Nationalism of this type has characteristically been developed among the educated upper and middle classes from whom it descended to the mass of the people. In this restricted form, nationalism as an ideology has spread over much of the civilized world from Europe, and found recruits in the Middle East among the subjects of the Ottoman Empire, such as the Albanians, Armenians, and Greeks. With those dissatisfied with Turkish domination and attracted by the extravagant new philosophy were the Kurds. 121 668 668

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[1] Leach, 1940.

> In the autumn of 1908, a Kurdish club was established in Constantinople . . . with the object of studying the essential principles which must govern the organization of the nation and the homeland. They published a newspaper . . . In the first few numbers of the journal, leaders . . . laid great emphasis on "enriching and organizing a good language," as a key to learning and civilization. Details were published showing the wealth of Kurdish folklore and unwritten literature . . . It was suggested that a national Kurdish force should be raised on the basis of tribal regiments . . . Similar Kurdish Clubs were established also at Baghdad, Mosul and Diarbekr to promote the same ideas and methods . . . This common passion for education formed a close bond between the

> students who met each other not only at school and public meetings, but also at social gatherings where they could talk and exchange their views.[1] 447

Kurdish nationalism in the European sense thus had its first protagonists among the educated Kurdish officials, officers, professional men, and students of the Ottoman Empire, not the chieftains and the people themselves.

Nationalism, which has an independent state as its goal, is something quite different from the transition of primitive into civilized society. 121 448 It is held that the basis of membership in a primitive society is one of kinship while that of civilized is one of territorial distinctions and property relations. There is thus a fundamental difference between the two in structure. This thesis, one of the central problems of ethnological theory, was well outlined by Maine:

> The history of political ideas begins, in fact, with the assumption that kinship in blood is the sole possible ground of community in political functions; nor is there any of those subversions of feeling, which we term emphatically revolutions, so startling and so complete as the change which is accomplished when some other principle—such as that, for instance, of local contiguity—establishes itself for the first time as the basis for common political action.[2]

Maine was joined by other nineteenth century anthropologists and writers in asserting the change from primitive to civilized society was qualitative. Morgan, for example, wrote:

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[1] Safrastian, 1948, pp. 70-71.

[2] Maine, 1888, p. 124.

> It may be here premised that all forms of government are reducible to two general plans, using the word plan in its scientific sense. In their bases the two are fundamentally distinct. The first, in order of time, is founded upon persons, and upon relations purely personal, and may be distinguished as a society (*societas*) . . . The second is founded upon territory and upon property, and may be distinguished as a state (*civitas*). The township, or ward, circumscribed by metes and bounds, with the property it contains, is the basis or unit of the latter, and political society is the result. Political society is organized upon territorial areas, and deals with property as well as with persons through territorial relations.[1]

[illegible]

More recently this point of view was challenged by Lowie, among others, who claimed the difference was merely quantitative:

> The traditional distinction established by Maine and Morgan retains its validity in so far as conceptually a union of neighbors is different from a union of kinsmen. It must even be conceded that the blood tie is frequently the overshadowing element in governmental activities of primitive peoples. Yet, though it often dwarfs the territorial factor, it never succeeds in eliminating it . . . The basic problem of the state is thus not that of explaining the momentous step by which ancient peoples achieved the step from a government by personal relations to one of territorial contiguity only. The question is rather to show what processes strengthened the local tie which must be recognized as not less ancient than the blood principle.[2]

Without arguing the question, in which the advantage seems to this writer to lie with Maine and his successors, the problem will be seen to have relevance to the recent history of the Kurds in Iraq. Civilized society is represented in their situation by the modern state, the monarchy of Iraq, and it is important not to confuse the ideal of the intellectual nationalists, a free Kurdish commonwealth, with that which the chieftains and their people are now striving to preserve, a society quite unlike the state. (3) (4)?

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[1] Morgan, 1909, p. 6.

[2] Lowie, 1927, pp. 72-73.

The Kurds, occupying a mountainous terrain, were but superficially governed by the Iranian and Ottoman governments. Inasmuch as the roads were poor or the country impassible for artillery, the Kurds, a well-armed people, were usually the military equals of their governors. The control of the Iranians and Turks was thus largely confined to the maintenance of police posts and army installations and the attempt, often in vain, to maintain public order and collect a few taxes. Helmut von Moltke, writing in 1838, notes: (4) [5]

> It is a well-known fact that the Ottoman empire comprises vast regions in which the Porte exercises no real authority. It is certain that the Padishah (the Turkish Sultan) has to reconquer widespread regions within the territory of his own state. To this category belong the highlands (of Kurdistan) between the Tigris and the Persian frontier.[1]

In recent decades, however, the Kurds, notably in Iraq and Turkey, have been subjected to the full impact of the modern state and some remarkable changes, comparable to similar developments elsewhere in the Middle East, are beginning to take place, challenging the whole structure of their society. This last, as will be seen, is one which is at once tribal and feudal, formerly directed by a landed aristocracy. A (7) (4) characteristic of it was its extreme decentralization. The Kurdish tenant or tribesman has now suddenly discovered himself to be a citizen, and the Kurdish chieftain to be without his former economic or political power. A new class, that of officials and officers, has been introduced with an unfamiliar system of society, and the result has not been without conflict. The fact that the reaction has been linked with European nationalism makes it the more interesting. The second object of this study is the delineation of this collision, and a consideration of the alterations in Kurdish life since Ottoman times. The recognition that nationalism, commonly considered in the Middle East as a European ideology in new dress, may be paired in some instances with economic and social upheavals of a different order is a matter of great importance in the analysis of the area.

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[1] Quoted in Safrastian, 1948, p. 58.

The Kurdish population of Iraq has been estimated at about 800,000, although figures vary considerably, and occupies the mountainous areas north of Mosul, northeast of Erbil, and east of Kirkuk. In many instances their villages have spilled out on the flat expanses of Upper Mesopotamia. A small portion of this populace is nomadic, wintering their flocks in the same plains area, and seeking the pastures of the uplands in the summer. Kurdish Iraq provides a striking contrast to the sun-baked flats and deserts of the central and southern provinces. The terrain is rugged, with peaks reaching 8000 feet above sea level, and is characterized by precipitous heights, deep gorges, and highland meadows. Water is abundant and swift perennial streams from icy springs cut the landscape. Many of the mountains are capped with snow throughout the year, and the plains around Sulaymaniya constitute one of the most verdant areas in Iraq. The region has suffered extensive deforestation, but poplar and willow abound along the watercourses and a few stands of heavier timber, such as oak, may yet be found in the uplands. The rivers and streams offer fish, and bear, ibex, snow leopards, and wolves are still to be encountered on the mountainsides. Save at the highest elevations, the area is blasted by the sun in summer, scorching the vegetation, but to a lesser extent than in the plains to the south. With the winter season of rain and snow, many of the passes are blocked for several months. The temperatures in either summer or winter, however, are not extreme. In spring the meadows are filled with brightly-colored flowers, particularly the poppy, but their life is short before the onset of the summer heat. 133 137 ? 136 132 137

The Kurdish town of Rowanduz is to be found in the mountains fifty miles northeast of Erbil. In older days Rowanduz was directly on the trade route between Erbil and Iran, but the recent construction of an automobile highway by the British has removed it from the main stream of what remains of this traffic.[1] The exact antiquity of the town is uncertain, but it first achieved prominence as the headquarters of Kor Pasha, a chieftain who gained temporary 491 [131] 495 independence from the Turks in the early decades of the nineteenth century. A ruined fortress of this leader is to be seen a short distance north of the town, and his descendants, the House of Isma'il Beg, still own much of its property. The Turks, who appreciated the strategic significance of Rowanduz with relation to the trade route and the possibility of a military advance along this line from Russia, made it the seat of a qaimaqam, an Ottoman governor, subject to the Kirkuk sanjaq (district) of the vilayet (province) of Mosul. Administratively it was equal in rank to Erbil, and immediately prior to the first World War had one or two battalions of infantry stationed nearby, as well as a police detachment. As a part of the monarchy of Iraq, it is now much more of an administrative than a commercial center and is still under a qaimaqam, but demoted beneath the control of Erbil. 175 648

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[1] Described in Hamilton, 1937.

In Ottoman times Rowanduz was a flourishing town of about a thousand houses and had a population estimated at 5000. It occupied a sloping tongue of land, running east and west along the Rowanduz river. The river was joined just above the town, to the west, by another stream flowing through a gorge then called the Kalund, and above this junction rose a great bluff, several hundred feet above the floor of the valley, termed Qala Tilak (Arabic, qal'a, "fortress"). The flat top of this bluff was occupied by the house of Sa'id Beg, a descendant of Kor Pasha, the offices of the Turkish officials, some summer residences of 361 the merchants of the town, and gardens. The Turkish serai and the main body of the town were to be found in the valley, close to the river. The bluff commands a magnificent view of the surrounding countryside, the peak of Karl Hasan Beg rising 8455 feet above sea level to the northeast, that of Handrin Dagh 8600 feet to the southeast, and the cliffs of Korrek Dagh to 7200 feet to the west. During the first World War, however, a Russian army entered the valley and destroyed the town, slaughtering those inhabitants who remained behind, as well as the Turkish wounded who had been sheltered in a mosque. Most of the populace fled to Erbil, and only several hundred families of the original population returned after the end of the war.

The town was gradually rebuilt during the decade which followed the first World War, not in the valley, but on the bluff formerly called Qala Tilah which is a formidable defensive position against infantry, for the gorges of the Rowanduz and Handrin rivers protect it on three sides. This is the new Rowanduz, and the site of the older is occupied only by an army barracks constructed by the British and a small aggregation of buildings known as Kanidaun. A description of the new town will be found in the study to follow. Rowanduz is joined to the modern automobile highway by a road which follows the Rowanduz river east to a point named Jindian where a steel bridge crosses the high rocky banks of the river. The town is on the old caravan route, a path unsuitable for vehicles, but still used by the villagers, and several tracks lead off to the villages at the rear. Rowanduz proved itself advantageous for an initial investigation of Kurdish culture, for it has a basic population of merchants and landowners whose life is considerably richer and more complex than that of the poor farmers and shepherds. To obtain the most complete portrayal, of course, a desirable supplement should be obtained from the villagers and the nomads in future work. In relation to the second problem, however, the impact of the state on Kurdish society, Rowanduz was ideal, because it was in the town that the new class of society, that of the government officials and officers, had replaced the few Ottoman officials and the first signs of change could be observed. The first object of this study, then, is the analysis of Rowanduz as an administrative and mercantile center and Kurdish life as it is to be observed there. The second object is the determination of the way in which the imposition of a new order of society has affected the Kurds.

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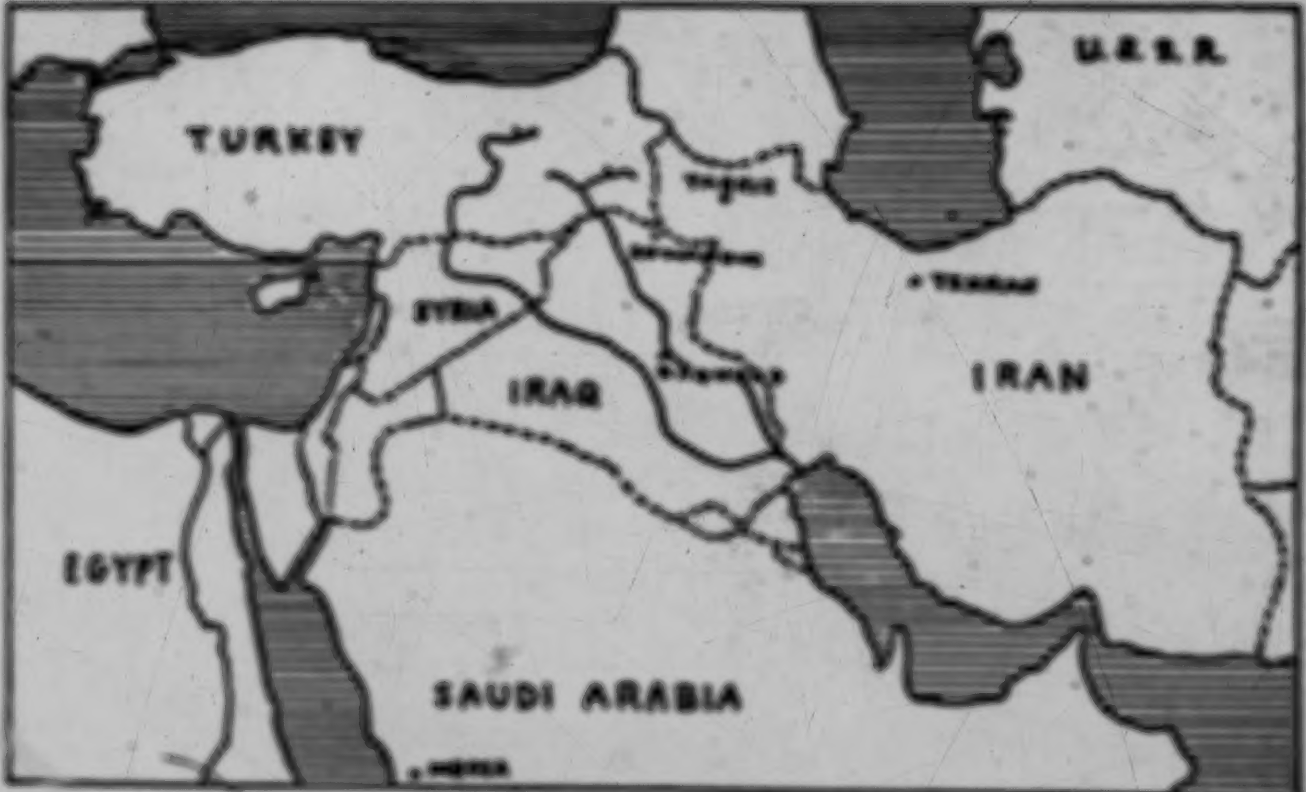
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Figure 1. Sketch Map of the Middle East

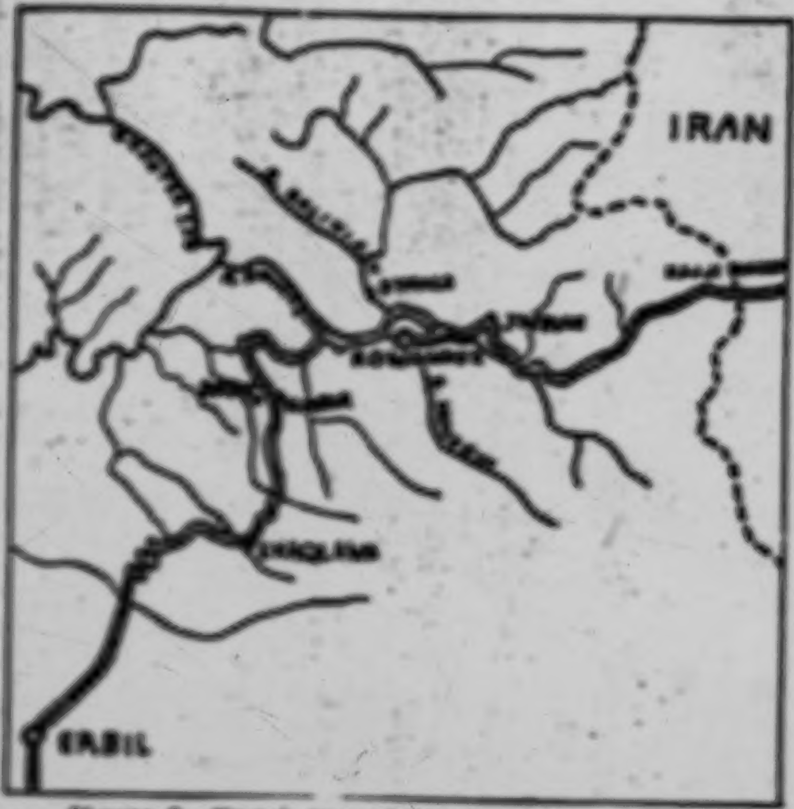

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Figure 2. Sketch map of the Rowandus District

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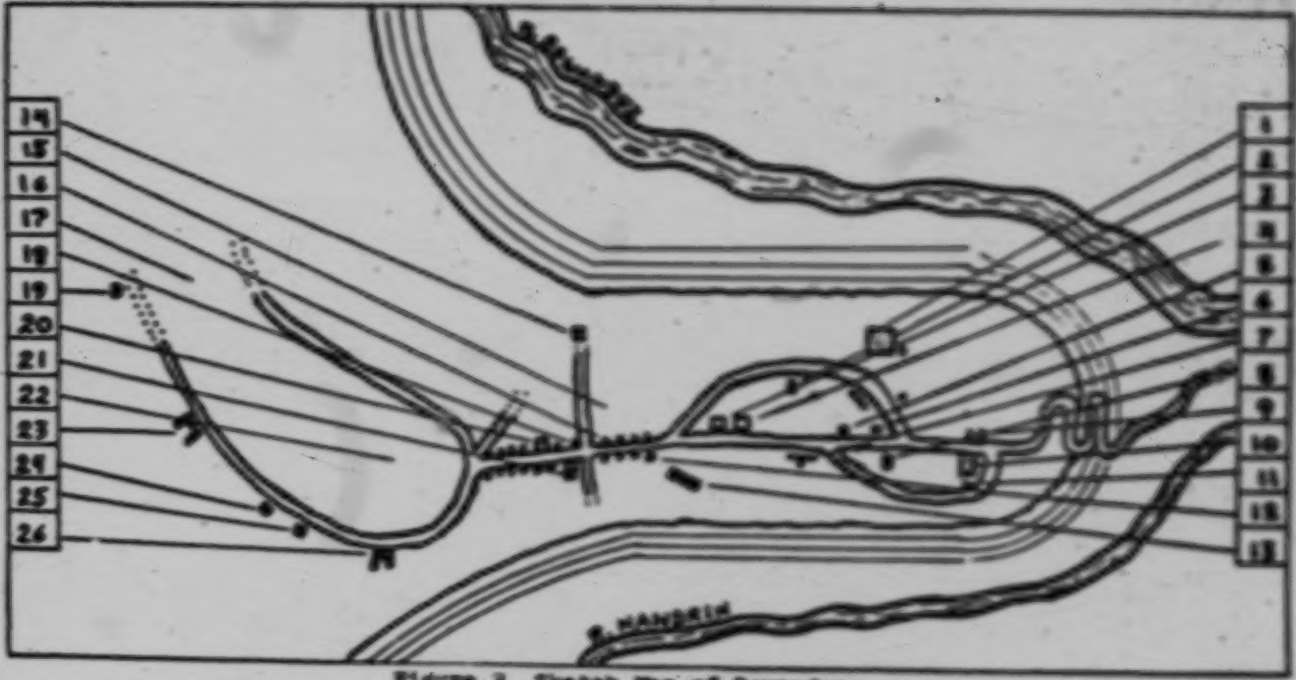
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Figure 3. Sketch Map of Rowandus

1. Isma'il Beg. 2. Court House. 3. Police Post. 4. Tobacco Monopoly. 5. Girl's School. 6. House of Qaimmaqam. 7. Sayyid Husni. 8. Primary School. 9. Veterinarian. 10. Serai. 11. Communications Office. 12. Sadiq Agha. 13. Hospital. 14. Ra'uf Effendi. 15. Lower Residential Area. 16. Bazar. 17. Cemetery. 18. Garage. 19. Ashi Shaykhi. 20. Garage. 21. Great Mosque. 22. Upper Residential Area. 23. Shakir Effendi. 24. Nuri Bawil Agha. 25. Women's Mosque. 26. Club.

CHAPTER II

THE ADMINISTRATIVE CENTER

To give a description of Rowanduz, its administrative and economic importance, as well as its social and religious life, demands a certain excursus above and beyond the actual physical limits of the town. To understand the role of the town, not only as a rural center, but in broader cultural horizons, one must have some understanding of the areas within which it lies. It is not intended to enter into an exhaustive discussion of either regional cultures or of a civilization, for that presupposes a much more extended survey than either the basis or the framework of this study can support, but rather to indicate the proper perspective in which the town must be viewed. The most convenient beginning to this task is not to be found in an economic or social background, but in the government, for in proceeding from its delineation, in many cases generalized with respect to district and to nation, an effective appreciation of later discussion can be formed. 121 96

Thus a clearer definition of the position of Rowanduz as an administrative center requires in some wise an appreciation of the constitution of Iraq itself, on whose northeastern border lies the district dominated by the town. A segment of the old Ottoman Empire, the territory of modern Iraq was 175 648 freed from the Turks during the First World War and thereafter recognized as an independent state, temporarily assigned as a mandate to Great Britain. The early organization of the country took place under British guidance, and was defined by an "Organic Law" of 1925 as a limited monarchy with a responsible government. The legislative bodies consist of a Chamber of Deputies (*Majlis al-Nuwwab*) of elected representatives and a Senate (*Majlis al-A'yan*) of nominated elder statesmen. One of the salient features of this government is that, aside from the deputies, no other public official is elected by popular suffrage, from the Prime Minister to the village postmaster. It is very much as if the citizens of the United States voted only on members to the House of Representatives, and all other officers concerned with public life were appointed by a central government in Washington, D. C. In Iraq there are, to be sure, local "advisory councils" to the governors, but their membership is in practice selective. On the conduct of elections themselves there is much variation of opinion, and, without falling to one side or the other, it is possible to say quite fairly that neither the electorate or the Chamber itself have fully realized the possibilities of the democratic power within their hands. There is thus, not only among the Kurdish minority, but in many quarters in Iraq, a strong popular sentiment, correct or incorrect, that even their elected officials improperly or impotently represent the people.

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One of the advantages of appointment in this fashion is that it permits the central government to provide properly qualified officials, responsible to higher authority, rather than relegate their selection to the whim of the voter. On the other hand, the official appointed in Baghdad almost always comes from a different town, and usually from a different province, than that to which he is assigned. Moreover, although there is no bar to any person rising in the government, the old middle and upper-class Turkish and Arab families of Iraq, who furnished officers and officials to the Ottoman empire, tend to dominate the ranks of the new monarchy as the wealthy, educated class. Thus, because there is little immediate community of interest between governor and governed, there is the potentiality of the use of office for the furtherance of personal ends on a local level, and, on the higher levels in Baghdad itself, the acquisition of government positions by the influence of family or wealth. None of these things, however, should in any way be construed as an accusation of dereliction, particularly in the administration of the Rowanduz district, but even the possibility of malfeasance has an easily imaginable effect on a people as emotionally sensitive as the Kurds. Of more cogent importance, however, is the fact that the administration of Rowanduz lies in the hands of persons on the whole alien to the community itself, and the social implications of the presence of this new class shall be examined in some detail.

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At the head of the executive branch of government, subject, of course, to legislative or royal check, are the ministers, from whose various departments all public officers are appointed. Following in general the old Ottoman lines, the country is divided into fourteen _liwas_, each under a _mutasarrif_. The _liwa_ is subdivided into _qadhas_, each under a _qaimmaqam_. The _qadha_ is in turn subdivided into a number of _nahiyas_, each under a _mudir_. Large towns have a _rais baladiya_ appointed by the government whose office is responsible for the intricacies of metropolitan administration. The people have a _mukhtar_, selected from the local inhabitants, who, while in no sense a public official, acts in liaison between his fellows and the mudir, a role exactly comparable to that of the _'umda_ in contemporary Egypt.[1] 631 648 [672]

The _qadha_ or district of Rowanduz belongs to the Arbil _liwa_, and is subdivided into five _nahiyas_. The sedentary population of these, as well as the number of villages, is listed here for 1950, as furnished by the census officer of Rowanduz. In spite of this official's labours in reducing a difficult problem, it is necessary to regard these figures with some reservation, for the Kurds, like many of their contemporaries in the Middle East and like the Israelites of old, regard inquiries into their numbers with the strongest suspicion. Similarly, the "village" here referred to may vary from a few isolated 691 162 561 [162]

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[1] Ayrout, 1945, pp. 47-48.

62 houses to a much larger number, which explains what may at
94 first appear as abnormally high numbers. To these have been added the figures for nomads, of which a discussion will be found below.

	Men	Women	Total	Number of villages
Rowanduz Nahiya				
(the central district)				
The town of Rowanduz	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
The nahiya	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	50
Balik	4,0[illegible]7	3,768	7,8[illegible]	79
Sidakan	3,305	2,761	6,066	-
Bradost	-	-	3,478	93
Dasht Harir	5,[illegible]	5,[illegible]	10,[illegible]	90
			48,[illegible]	
Nomads	3,477	3,173	6,650	
			54,[illegible]	

The numbers given for nomads may be treated with even greater suspicion, because they are even less amenable than the villager to the census-taker, who, in their minds, has little to differentiate himself from the tax-collector or recruiting officer.

293 The matter of the nomad—*kochar* in Kurdish, as
369 opposed to *ra'iyat*, the villager—must give us pause. The term "nomad" has a variety of applications, and, in the Middle East, is given its classical sense in those arch wanderers of the Syrian and Arabian deserts or the Turkoman horsemen of the northern marches, "true" nomads in the sense that to a very large extent they can live independently of others from the produce of their flocks

and herds. The Kurdish shepherds and herdsmen of northern Iraq cannot be said to belong to this group. Although the matter requires more exact study, they live in symbiotic relationship with certain larger groups of sedentary farmers with whom they have definite economic and social ties, these last usually tribal or, at least, a common overlordship. It seems very much as though a real division of labour were involved, certain of the group being devoted to move the flocks of the whole with the change of seasons, but the historical background of this interdependence is more complex. It is, for example, uncertain whether or not the Kurdish people as a whole were once nomadic in some restricted sense, one author holding that the word "Kurd" itself was in Mediaeval days but a generic term for such wanderers.[1] However the development may have taken place, there is abundant evidence that the kochers, with their mobility and firepower (the nomad of the Middle East emphasizes weapons to a much greater extent than the agriculturist), exercised until quite recently extensive dominance over the settled folk while quite inferior to them in numbers. The Kurdish chieftains, the old powers of the land, are in many cases associated with kochers groups, perhaps belonging directly among them, although as landowners they need not follow the migrations. It should further be remembered that a small number of herdsmen can account for

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[1] [illegible], 1931, p. 294.

a great number of animals, thus partially explaining the seemingly small figure for "nomads" cited above. 233 [162]

In spring the kochir are on the move, leading their flocks of sheep and goats from winter pasturage around Mosul and Erbil to summer grazing in the hills and mountains. The passes and defiles are filled with their animals, an annoying impasse to swift communication, and their black tents line the watercourses and trails. As winter approaches they return once again from the uplands, seeking the warmth of the Jazira plain. In former days their passage would often be turbulent. Because of his flocks, the kochir must get through, and was accustomed to fight a way if none peaceful could be found. Much of this has lately been changed, for police vehicles with automatic weapons are strong arguments against violence, and the construction of better roads has greatly facilitated movement, although the nomad still has the right of way after dark, and moving a vehicle through the sea of animals blinking in the headlights is difficult. Even then the kochir constitute one of the most difficult administrative problems of a qaimmaqam, such as that of Rowanduz. He must arbitrate their quarrels in passage (usually a sheep missing from the nomad, or transient flocks in a villager's field) as well as those they cannot settle among themselves. Lastly, as many cross the national border into Iranian Azerbaijan, the qaimmaqam of Rowanduz must arrange their transfer twice each year with the authorities of that country. 221 233 [625] [49] [623] [648]

Unlike many Kurdish and Nestorian villagers, as well as the people of Rowanduz itself, the aghawat all belong to one or another "tribe" (Kurdish, 'ashiret, from Arabic, 'ashira), a matter which also demands clarification. The typical Kurdish tribe contains several elements of a different character. Membership usually depends upon descent, but individual families or much larger groups can deny their tribal allegiance, and either join another group, or form an individual tribe of their own. While some of the larger confederations appear to be of considerable antiquity, the smaller groups come and go with the vicissitudes of war, wealth, and leadership. Nor are the tribes made up exclusively of nomads, for, while the nomad may play a dominant role in furnishing pugnacious leadership and armed men, the wealth and numerical strength of such a group come largely from its villagers. Because many of the chieftains are landowners, persons living in villages owned by them, whether Muslim Kurds or Nestorian Christians, are said to "belong" to the chieftain's tribe. Nestorians often dress in the typical garb of their "tribe," taking part in many of its common affairs, although there is almost no possibility of intermarriage between them and their Muslim fellows. While there seems to be little historical evidence to support or refute such a view, the Kurdish tribe appears to represent an intermediate stage between groups whose membership was actually based on descent and those whose character is purely feudal, a situation which may have

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enlisted for conscription. Today it cannot be denied that some tribesmen, particularly the Balekis, belong to their group because of kinship relation (the Kurdish term taifa, from Arabic, ta'ifa, "tribe," is used to describe a tribal subdivision still to be found which seems to represent a patrilineal clan), while at the same time it is perfectly clear that a great deal of membership is simply territorial. 610 621 [614]

It is important to notice that there are two main bodies of criminal law in Iraq, a civil code administered by judges appointed by the Ministry of Justice, and that commonly called "tribal law," executed by local administrative officers. The institution of dual legal systems was evoked by the existence of Arab and Kurdish tribes some of whose time-honored customs were, to say the least, out of joint with the provisions of a modern, quasi-European code. The differences between the two need not be considered in detail. In general, "tribal" law is more lenient in some respects, as in "justifiable" homicide (disposing of an erring female relative), and more stringent in others, such as adultery or rape. There are in the Rowanduz district a number of groups who can have recourse to tribal law, and its administration is not charged to the local judge, but is an added task of the qaimmaqam. Hence the office of that official in Rowanduz has often the aspect of a courtroom, the qaimmaqam and his clerk patiently and laboriously inquiring into the intricacies of some rural feud through an interminable parade of witnesses--scarcely-dressed 671 [692] 695 [illegible] and killers from remote villages—occur in on a cloth-covered [illegible] for their long-winded expeditions. In the event that a chieftain has appeared, usually to palliate any offense which may have taken place within his grounds or to vouch for a suspect, the little chaikhana or tea-shop across from the government building is full of his body-guards, and a current of excitement runs through the town. 475 [561]

Those tribes having connections in the Rowanduz district, while not necessarily confined to it, include the Balaki under Mulla [illegible] Agha, the [illegible] under Mohamed Beg [illegible], the Harki under Fatah Agha, the [illegible] under Hajji [illegible] Agha, the [illegible] under [illegible] Agha, the [illegible] under Mohammed Sayidi, the [illegible] under Fetah Agha, and the Surchi under Kadir Agha. The most important and numerous are the Balaki, the [illegible], the Harki, and the Surchi. Most of these have a network of lesser divisions, corresponding usually to lesser chieftains. It will be seen later that a chieftain need have no connection with a tribe to enjoy the rank. There are, to be sure, two views of the names of tribes and their leaders, that of the government and that of the local inhabitants. The list given here is that officially furnished by the qadha of Rowanduz, and does not necessarily correspond with some segments of local opinion, for, on the one hand, certain "lawful" chieftains may be exiled, imprisoned, or unrecognized, while others, such as As'ad Agha who keeps to a well-guarded house in Rowanduz, are unable to return to their villages because of a feud. 619 617 [626] because of a feud. Lastly it remains to mention the Barzani, formerly one of the most powerful groups in the district. In the series of events which followed the withdrawal of the Russian army from Azerbaijan in 1946, one of the Barzani chieftains, Mulla Mustafa, was forced to flee to the Armenian S.S.R. and the tribe was theoretically broken up. Officially the Barzani no longer exist, but in the popular mind they are much alive. If a policeman or another is shot in a remote district, the deed is usually attributed to "the Barzani," a convenient testimony for the *bakhshdar*'s escort.

The administrative control of an extensive mountainous area inhabited by a scattered population of some 11,000 poverty-stricken farmers and shepherds, most of whom belong to an ethnic group noted for its unruliness, is not without its difficulties, and requires of the *bakhshdar* and his officials the extensive daily exhibition of qualities, among them unlimited patience and a fine sense for popular opinion, rarely demanded of similar magistrates in Europe or North America. Locally, in the *[illegible]*, the greater part of the burden rests almost completely with the *[illegible]* and his several assistants, for within his own sphere he is given much of a free rein. It has been often and widely noticed that bureaucratic personnel in the Middle East far tend to outnumber and submerge the requirements of efficiency, but this is valid only for capitals and larger towns, for the distasteful tasks of rural order find but the barest of admin. The

mudir, "exiled," in his own words, to the country, must 647
account for a *nahiya* or sub-district, in this case with an 648
average population of some 10,000 souls, with a staff of a
few tax-assessors, clerks, a police detachment and servants [625]
which together usually numbers less than 30 or 40 men, less
than 1/300th of such a population.

The lot of the typical *mudir* is not an enviable one. His chief tasks are those of the great totality of Middle Eastern administration, the maintenance of order, the collection of taxes, and the selection of army recruits. Because these three demand most of his time and energy, other problems, such as public health, must suffer in comparison. The [646] government headquarters in the central village of a *nahiya* is usually a decrepit one-storey outpost of mud-brick or rubble, built about an unpaved courtyard. It contains some offices, a guardroom and quarters for the police, and a [627] primitive jail, and boasts neither plumbing, heating, or electricity. The *mudir* himself is assigned a house, but he can rarely have more than the minimum in furnishings, just as he usually cannot yet afford marriage. He is most often a younger man from 25 to 35 years of age, a lawyer by training, and in high hopes of some better favoured assignment. Moreover, he finds himself an alien in the community, not only because his origins are elsewhere, but also because his social rank does not seem to admit of free intercourse with those he governs. There are, to be sure, *mudirs* who take a great part in the social life of their *nahiyas*, but they are most often older, more experienced men with wife and family. While given a free hand, the mudir is still often on the telephone to Rowanduz, if only to hear the voices of his fellow civil servants, and failing leave to visit Baghdad, Mosul, or some other center of "civilization," seeks every opportunity to find their company in the center itself. "Here I am," said one mudir, "in this village where there is no club, no restaurant, no cinema, and no friends. And after sundown it's all finished." 647 648 [368] [596] [171]

The mudir and his problems will be found again later, for it is necessary here to return to Rowanduz itself and the more important question of the area as a whole. Of the several government buildings in Rowanduz, that which commands primary attention, as it does of the inhabitants of the district, is the serai, so termed after Ottoman custom, for it contains the offices of the qaimmaqam and most of his staff, and is the physical center of the district government. The serai is one of the first buildings to be encountered in the town, standing a hundred yards from the edge of the bluff and commanding a magnificent view of the valley. It is a large, dun-colored, rectangular structure of plastered brick surrounding a partially paved interior court wherein a few ragged trees are to be found. The front of the building is of two storeys, unlike the other three sides which are of one, and is pierced by a large, arched gateway where one or two policemen mount guard during the day. Within the arch is a long brick bench on which a [illegible] [625] [411]

public collection of arms—rifles, bandoliers, khanjars 344
(the curved Kurdish dagger)—may often be seen, because [411]
men with business in the serai are disarmed on entering
and may reclaim their weapons after their departure. The
roofs are of earth thickly plastered and rolled on supporting
joists of bundled poles and twigs, and on them tufts of
grass have found a foothold. In summer the policemen on
duty at night take up their station in a corner of the
roof.

The offices of the serai open on the inner courtyard.
There are but a few loopholes in the outer wall of the [343]
first storey, and the interior windows and those of the
second storey facing the valley are glassed and barred.
The walls within are plastered, but the ceiling consists
of bare branches and poles which support the roof. The
floors are of tamped earth. The furniture—desks, chairs, [352]
and long, high wooden benches—is unpainted, while a few
offices boast upholstered easy-chairs. Cases, desks, and
convenient corners are occupied with stacks of dossiers [353]
and loosely-piled papers. Everything is written by hand, [212]
for there are no typewriters. In the corner of every office
stands the omnipresent gray water-jug with a glass turned
down over its mouth. There is no electric lighting, and [354]
the rare work which demands attention after dark must be done
by kerosene or gasoline lanterns. A few of the rooms are
equipped with stoves in wintertime. Directly across the 687
courtyard from the gateway is the jail, its inner wall

consisting of a large steel grill and its armed few in- 647
mates, squatting against the walls, on display. The 561
official day begins at about eight o'clock and continues 647
without interruption until two or three o'clock, although it is often shortened during the hot summer months or the fasting of Ramadan. A number of officials may continue their work after a recess of one or two hours, but for most labor comes to a close in the early afternoon. During the time of business the courtyard is a scene of activity, filled with villagers and townspeople on various errands, [567]
policemen going to or from their duties, servants carrying [312]
tea or sherbet, and, of course, a scattering of loafers with no business at all.

To the left of the gateway and up a flight of mud- 647
brick stairs may be found the office of the *qaimmaqam*. It is a typical example of an official's establishment of the Arab Middle East, and may be visited and its ritual repeated again and again. The far wall is decorated with a large [363]
framed photograph of the ruler and a map of the area. Beneath it stands the *qaimmaqam*'s littered desk, flanked with [362]
an old-fashioned French cradle-phone. Both side walls are [352]
lined with upholstered chairs placed arm to arm. In one corner stands a bookcase enclosing a few pamphlets and, ready for testimony, the Quran in its green-and-white cloth [779]
envelope. Before the door a servant officiates, full of [857]
self importance and colorfully dressed in native garb. A 576
name or card must be submitted to him, and he disappears 647

temporarily into the office. As some foreigners and 647 [576]
others come in to the qaimmaqam, and, after greetings and pleasantries have been exchanged, one is seated. Cigarettes 594
are offered with an invitation to drink a glass of tea or 647
sherbet. The servant is commanded to fetch these last, 461
and the opening has been completed. Throughout the interview there is a constant coming and going. The servant returns with refreshments and the names of others. New visitors are ushered in, seated or left standing, and dealt with in the order of their importance. The telephone rings: a mudir feels lonely and has found some problem for superior comment, amid a great deal of irrelevance. The chief clerk glides in noiselessly with dossiers requiring immediate signatures. This office, unlike those of others of the qaimmaqam's staff, is a place of interminable interruption, for everyone, great or small, with a problem tries, if not personally, then through the offices of some more commanding personage, to lay his case before Caesar.

Some of the qaimmaqam's more specialized duties have 647
already been seen, such as the transfer of nomads to and from 624
the Iranian authorities, and the execution of tribal law. First and foremost, however, the qaimmaqam must supervise and coordinate the activities of the mudirs and nahia officials, for problems too difficult for them or beyond the range of their powers are passed to his hands. It has been noticed that a mudir is given considerable local power, but because the qaimmaqam is responsible not only for the

conduct of lesser officials but also of the populace as a whole, he tends to keep in close informal touch with both of these. Similarly, he is the step in authority between a *mudir* of his *qadha* and the *mutasarrif* of Erbil and reports, taxes, recruits, and prisoners must pass through his hands. The same relationship described between *mudir* and *qaimmaqam* obtains between the latter and the *mutasarrif*, because the *qaimmaqam* must refer his own reports and problems to higher authority. Lastly, it has been intimated above that the *qaimmaqam* is referred to as an appeal for all sorts of requests. In the Arab Middle East the private citizen has two customary approaches to the initiation of governmental action, at the "bottom," as is usual in most European governments, or at the "top." If, for example, one desires a permit, the first approach would require the submission of a written request to a clerk from whom it is transmitted through chief clerk, *mudir*, and so on, until it reaches the proper authority, accumulating documents on its way. It would then be returned in reverse fashion. The other approach, often a perogative of higher social rank, the direct application to the highest available authority, is, of course, the more effective because it bears the signature of authorization at the outset. It follows that the *qaimmaqam* is constantly beset by those, either in their own interest or in that of some "client," wishing to bypass the normal paths of transmittal. 624 647 [656] [662]

Throughout their history the Kurds have suffered a 181 579

distinction for robbery and bloodshed, and certainly a 181
part of the usual income of the old chieftains was de- 579
rived from the exaction of "tolls" or outright kidnapping,
either of persons or of goods, just as revenge in a blood [628]
feud was one of their outstanding duties. The introduction [177]
of better roads and the adoption of modern equipment by [491]
police and army have, without question, lessened greatly [625]
the frequency of these things, and the contemporary brigand
--they still occur--finds himself heavily outgunned. In
spite of this unsavory reputation, particularly for revolt,
the Kurdish minority of Iraq cannot be said to be the most
lawless in the country, for the Muntafiq *liwa*, a "Marsh
Arab" province, is frequently cited as the worst. Although [704]
the army may be called upon in exceptional cases, normally 625
the prevention and detection of crime is the work of the 647
police, and their direction within the *qadha* is charged to 624
the *qaimmaqam*.

Service with the police is quite popular among the 625
poorest classes, particularly among those of the "Marsh Arab" provinces, because, although the pay is extremely small, it is accepted as a substitute for military service and, as a career, offers an escape from agricultural drudgery. Officers are attracted to serve just as they might be to the army or the civil service, and are commissioned after graduation from a special school. They are usually derived from poorer middle-class families and have had a secondary education. There is thus quite a social gap between an officer

and his Marsh Arab constable. Enlisted men and non-commissioned officers of the police are furnished their uniforms, rations, and quarters, although those who can bear the expense may live in private dwellings with their families. The duty uniform of the police consists of a forage cap with a black cloth patch sewed on its front to which a silver badge is placed, a shirt and tunic with metal buttons, short trousers, wrap-around puttees, and heavy army shoes. The cloth is of olive drab wool in the winter and khaki drill in the summer. The dress uniform, which includes a spiked helmet, encountered in Baghdad and other larger towns, is never seen in Rowandus. Officer's uniforms differ only in that they are of better quality, long trousers may be worn, and a sun helmet may be substituted for the cap. Ranks and insignia are much like those of the army, following--with an Arabic terminology--a British model. The arms of the police, also like those of the army, are the British Enfield rifle for enlisted men and the Webley service revolver for officers. The police and army officers alike have a great predilection for swagger sticks, ranging from slender batons to heavy pieces of wood bound with leather. The Rowandus police detachment has at its disposal several light American vehicles equipped with water-cooled machine-guns and a number of lorries. 625 [177] [411] [713] [493]

The police are assigned in small numbers to the *mudirs*, while a larger unit is kept in Rowandus at the

disposal of the *qaimmaqam*. This latter detachment is not 625
quartered in the serai, but occupies a similar, smaller
building of its own a short distance up the road which
serves as a barracks and a garage for the vehicles. However,
the actual direction of the police has its place in [647]
the serai, because the *qaimmaqam* is its civilian director,
and his assistant, the *mamur* (Arabic, "official"), an
officer with the rank of lieutenant has an office there.
These officers suffer somewhat in prestige because their [554]
rank was lower than that of many of the army officers of
the neighborhood, and the army tends to look down on the
police. During the summer of 1951, the *mamur*'s adjutant, [661]
also an officer, was extremely unpopular with the townspeople [578]
for the familiar abuse of policemen in comedy,
helping himself to refreshments and other small items at
the expense of the merchants. The daily employment of
the police in Rowandus itself includes watching the
market by day, providing guards for government buildings,
transferring prisoners, and maintaining a patrol in the
streets by night.

Perhaps there are no more favored objects of investment 423
in the Middle East, no matter how great or how 454
small the amount involved, than precious metal or land.
To all classes of society these two are tangible objects
of wealth, and of incredibly greater desirability than such
things as bank-notes or bonds, for governments and bankers
are highly variable, but soil or gold are always of value.

423 Because of this conviction, the legal ownership of land
454 becomes an administrative matter of the gravest import, and
the office of the director of tapu (registered land) in Rowanduz the scene of some of the most serious transactions in the serai.

The laws of Iraq treating the tenure of land are
423 somewhat complex, as both Quranic and Ottoman classifications are intermingled in the modern code, but only two categories need concern us here, *tapu* and *amiriya*. *Tapu*-land is that which has been registered and to which a title of private ownership is recognized. *Amiriya*-land is that belonging to the state, not only that in use for government installations, but almost all "unoccupied" land. Under certain conditions, such as occupancy over a period of 15 years, *amiriya*-land can become privately owned. Whenever there is a transaction in land, usually a sale, the parties concerned must have reference to the director of *tapu* in the serai. An engineer from his office makes a survey of the land in question, which, in the form of a map, serves as a deed. One copy is given to the owner and another retained in the office.

A third category, which not only includes land, but
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735 also houses and other forms of property, is *waqf*, the
429 religious donation. A man, for a variety of reasons, may leave his property to the Islamic faith and it becomes untaxable and inviolable. Such property is placed for the use, usually at extremely low rates, of poorer folk among

the faithful. There are in Rowandus some 18 houses and 423
lands which belong in this category. The administration 735
of such property is placed under a Ministry of *Awqaf*, 429
and there is a *Mamur* in Erbil from this ministry to super-
vise the use of such bequests. Locally, the supervision [793]
is not charged to the serai, but to the chief *mulla* (the
religious leader of the community) who otherwise has no
connection in government affairs.

Just as the legal ownership of land is important to 651
the private citizen, its taxation is a primary concern of the government. Locally the collection is in the hands of the *mudirs*, and the money transmitted through the *qaimmaqam* to Erbil. In taxation a distinction is made between agricultural lands and houses. Of the agricultural land, *tapu*-land is taxed a straight 15% of its value in terms of yearly yield. *Amiriya*-land which has been built upon and cultivated is subject to 30%, while that which has not been built upon, but cultivated, pays 10%. Houses, without reference to the land on which they stand, are taxed 15% of the assessed value of their yearly rent. Shopkeepers and merchants pay a series of taxes, usually in the form of licenses. Neither personal property, including gold, jewelry, or currency, nor income are taxed in the Rowandus district. As has been mentioned, *waqf* or "church" property is not taxed. These revenues must be paid in money, never in kind, although property may be seized for taxes in arrears. However, the chieftains in the countryside try

to pay the taxes in money for their tribesmen or clients, 651
and in return demand a proportion, said to be often as
high as 50%, of the crops. There is a constant struggle
between the tax-assessor and the tax-payer, overestimation
by the former and underestimation by the latter of the
value in question. "If the rent of some land is 100
dinars," a landowner said, "the owner will tell the assessor
it is only 50. No one pays taxes properly." It is for
this reason that the investigation of economics by a dis-
interested observer is often difficult, for no one likes
to reveal the true state of his finances, even to his
most intimate friends.

There is in the serai an excise and customs director [647]
who must supervise the collection of duties from the customs [439]
points at Jindian, Rayat, and Hajji Umran on the Iranian
frontier. The volume of trade between the district and Iran
is not large, one of the most important imports being
Iranian rice, and is probably but a fraction of its former
magnitude. Thus the collection of customs duties, as well
as the detection of smuggling (with the exception of arms [687]
and ammunition, a capital offense) cannot be said to con-
stitute a great problem. The Tobacco Monopoly will be
spoken of below, and locally the only excise problem seems
to be the manufacture of bootleg arrack by the Nestorians, [273]
a violation which is most often winked at. A certain
amount of charcoal is illegally produced in the district 314 656
and smuggled south to Erbil and Kirkuk, but this is an 372

offense against a conservation law, because charcoal is 314 656
not taxed. 372

The census officer and an assistant have an office 659
in the serai, as has been mentioned above. The difficulties encountered in preparing a census for a district such as this are formidable, but administratively the task does not have the priority of others. The chief problem is simply the determination of the numbers of men and women in the district, itself a Herculean labor, and statistics in matters of births, deaths, marriages, and the like, are simply unknown. Because this is a new department, however, one might expect expansion in the future.

Finally, the serai houses the office of a civilian 702
recruiting officer and his assistants whose task is the selection of recruits for the army. In Iraq every male must perform two years' military service after reaching the age of 18 years unless deferred for unfitness, pursuit of a higher education, or some other reason. There are four divisional commands to which recruits are sent for training and service, the transmission from Rowanduz being by lorry to Erbil. The Iraqi army, while equipped and organized on a British model, has little appeal for the poorer Arab or Kurdish youth, for the pay is almost nothing, the food reduced to bread and soup, and the regular en- [703]
listed personnel tyrannical. Thus, while the Kurds are noted for their love of arms and fighting, conscription is a joyless event in the poverty-stricken households, and

there are many malingerers. The legal remedy for evasion, 702
whenever detected, is simply the extension of the term of [689]
duty. There are, to be sure, many Kurds of middle and [565]
upper-class families who, on the completion of their
secondary schooling, select the not unpleasant and honorable
career of an army officer.

For the people of the district the serai, with its
important complement of officials, its bustling crowd during [344] [186]
hours of business, its guards, and its four-colored ensign
fluttering above from a flagpole, is the physical symbol of [208]
governmental authority. "The serai prefers this," or "the
serai would never permit that," is heard in popular speech.
But for many it is a place, neither of prestige nor yet
of oppression, but of sorrow, for in lorries drawn up
before its gateway depart the groups of recruits and
prisoners bound for Erbil, and the people know that many
will never return. There is always a number of women to [152]
be found outside the serai, old and young, mothers and wives,
dressed in the stained, dark cloth of the countryside,
and often one will raise her voice in a low-pitched lament
or fall into tears. An enterprising Nestorian has set up [215]
an antique camera at one corner, and the prisoner and
recruit often exchange photographs with their wives, the
poorly-made prints that are so often brought out during the
long months of separation.

To one side of the serai, on one of the two streets 344
leading up into the town, is a small, square brick building 232 654

which houses the office of the government veterinarian, 654 344
behind which a fenced yard usually contains one or two [232]
animals, horses or mules, under treatment. Directly
behind this, across the street from a corner of the
serai, is the "Government" chaikhana (tea-room), a 265
diminutive mud-brick building with a porch of tamped 654
earth over which in summer is erected a wooden framework
roofed with a thick canopy of oak leaves and branches.
Beneath this arbor (in the style of a kapir, Kurdish
for such a construction) are arranged a number of high [352]
wooden benches and tables, occupied for refreshment or [517]
ease during the day by those who have had business in the
serai, policemen off duty, a chieftain's bodyguards, or the
usual loafers.

To the other side of the serai stands a squat, cement- 344
block building, the "communications" office wherein the 205
post-office, telegraph, and telephone switchboard are to 206
be found. The postmaster, in 1951 a heavy-set Chaldaean 655
(Kaldani, a member of the Christian sect centering around
Mosul), has several assistants hired from among the towns-
people and one or more of them is on duty day and night.
While the post and the telegraph can be handled with
efficiency, the telephone equipment leaves much to be
desired, and to place a call to such a place as Erbil or
Baghdad often requires a good deal of shouting and
cranking. It follows that the operators many times suffer
considerable frustration, and, unlike other government

installations in Rowandus, the air of the communications 205
office is heavy with tobacco smoke and its floor littered 206
with cigarettes. Because of the importance of his task, 655
the postmaster works in close touch with the *qaimmaqam*. [356]

Some distance up the street leading to the left 344
past the serai, next to the police detachment's quarters, 276
is the Tobacco Monopoly, a large, barn-like structure, 655
which, in addition to warehouse space, contains a few 249
offices. One of the *qaimmaqam*'s most important subordinates
is the director of this monopoly. As in other countries,
tobacco in Iraq offers a lucrative source of government [651]
revenue, particularly the tax on cigarettes, and is one of
the most important cash crops of the Rowandus district.
The government controls the distribution of seed and purchases
all of the crop from the cultivators after the harvest,
a control which eliminates the profiteering of middlemen
and at the same time assures itself a respectable
profit. The harvested leaf is transmitted to the cigarette
factories in Baghdad. The leaf grown in the Rowandus
district is typically small and extremely friable, but
the government has introduced certain better strains of
late. Cultivators or their overlords may retain small
quantities of the harvest for their own consumption, usually
prepared as cigarettes by hand within the households.

Across from the Tobacco Monopoly and police detachment, 743
occupying a detached slope of land overlooking the [344]
gorge, is a single-storey cement-block hospital and several
outbuildings

outbuildings. The hospital itself contains two free wards 743
for the district, although much is lacking in modern equipment
and drugs, and is under the direction of a medical
officer, also subordinate to the *qaimmaqam*. There are 759
several assistants, including a female nurse. Medical 759
service in the district is in some disrepute, largely because
of the character of the medical officer. Trained in
Lebanon, he was characterized as having expensive cures
for expensive patients, and none at all for others. A
poor merchant who had taken his infant, afflicted with a
rash, to this doctor was preemptorily told "to wash his
baby more often," hardly a prescription of value as the
child was bathed daily. In another case, a countryman
with some complaint entered the doctor's office while the
latter was in conference with a visitor to the district.
When the countryman asked for the doctor, this person
himself informed the sufferer that "the doctor was not
there, and would not be expected for several days." Such
unfortunate incidents, coupled with the fact that Arab
physicians trained in the Middle East often use surgery
as a panacea, have created a large body of adverse opinion.

Among a group of houses in the lower part of the 344
town are to be found the courthouse and residence of the
judge (Arabic, *hakim*), the former a small, squarish mudbrick [693]
building of a single storey. When court is in 695
session, there is usually a small number of villagers or
townspeople squatting or leaning against its front wall,
waiting to be called. The judge is the foremost of several 692

civil servants in Rowandus who are not under the direct 692
surveillance of the qaimmaqam (although, in an extraordinary case, the qaimmaqam could probably obtain his transfer or dismissal), and is responsible to the Ministry of Justice in Baghdad from whence he was appointed. The administration of the civil side is charged to this ministry, rather than to a judiciary independent of the executive branch of government. It governs a Court of Cassation, four Courts of Appeal located at Baghdad, Basra, Kirkuk, and Mosul, fourteen Courts of First Instance (corresponding to the fourteen provinces) with unlimited powers, and forty-four Courts of First Instance with limited powers. These last are courts of single judges, and that of Rowandus provides an example.

Thus the judge at Rowandus is restricted in the types of cases he can try and the sentences his court can hand down. He cannot, for example, give the death penalty, [696]
and cases for which this is possible are forwarded to Erbil for trial. On the other hand, his court must be sought for the multitude of everyday questions of marriage, divorce, inheritance, and lesser violations of the civil statutes. One or two examples will suffice to illustrate the usual type of case brought before him. Two merchants 691
in Rowandus owned shops side by side, and one owed the 686
other the sum of twenty *dinars* which he was unable or unwilling to repay. A heated argument ensued, and the creditor carried his case to the judge. The judge ruled in his favor, and the debtor's shop was padlocked and sealed [696].

by the court clerk, Shakir Effendi, with great ceremony 691 [686]
until the debtor should pay. Again, a merchant and a [696]
barber fell into a wrangle in the market-place in Rowandus 683
because the barber had wakened the merchant's infant 696
children late the preceding night with his noise. Words
passed, particularly on the side of the barber, the
merchant drew his *khanjir*, and was beaten from behind with
a club by the barber's son. At this point the police took
them all in charge, and the judge, after some reflection
on their respective characters, fined the barber a *dinar* [689]
for disturbing the peace.

Also without subordination to the *qaimmaqam* are the 875
teachers, appointed by the Ministry of Education and
responsible to officers of the Ministry in Erbil. By law 872
primary education in Iraq is free and compulsory, but this
ideal is some distance from realization. In the Rowandus
district only a small number of children, sons and daughters
of ambitious or wealthy people, are able to attend primary
school and fewer still go on to secondary education or to
college. The primary school is entered at the age of six
or seven, and consists of seven classes (beginning with
the "twelfth class," corresponding to the American first
grade and ending with the "sixth"). Subjects include
reading and writing in Arabic (in Rowandus there are
special classes in Kurdish), mathematics, history, and
social studies, and the course is normally completed at
the age of twelve or thirteen. The intermediate school
can be entered next, and consists of three classes ("fifth"

through "third"). Subjects include Arabic, English, general science, geography, history, mathematics, and social studies, and is completed at the age of fifteen or sixteen. The pupil can next enter the secondary school, consisting of two classes ("second" and "first"), successful completion of which consists in matriculation for a college or university education. A successful student usually completes his secondary education at the age of seventeen or eighteen. 872 [873]

In the Rowanduz district there are small primary schools at Dyana and Batas, but the center of education is in Rowanduz. Here there are primary schools for boys and girls, and an intermediate school for both. After completion of the intermediate school, students who desire further education must move to Erbil, where they are quartered with friends or relatives, or, if mature enough and possessed of the means, rent a house in common with a number of their fellows. Only one or two each year, however, go beyond the intermediate level in the district. The school year lasts nine months, approximating our own, and, as in the local government, Fridays and public occasions are holidays. Classes are held from 7:30 A.M. to 12:30 P.M. in summer weather, and from 8:30 A.M. to 1:30 P.M. in the winter. Pupils in the primary schools remain in the same class throughout the day. Boys and girls are mixed in the intermediate school (a matter of some concern to more conservative parents), and have different instructors during the day. In Rowanduz there were in 1951 about 150 pupils [527] in the primary schools, and about 35 in the intermediate school. All of the children live in Rowanduz itself, for there is no system of transportation for the children in outlying villages. 872

The primary school for boys is a large, mud-brick building standing within a wide gravel yard behind the serai. Constructed in 1925, it is in considerable disrepair today. Within it a number of classrooms open on a small central hall. There are diminutive rooms for the teachers and the director, a "library," and a closet wherein a servant prepares tea. The furnishings, forms and benches of unpainted wood, are the poorest, and the teachers fondly hope for the future construction of a new school with better equipment. The poorer students are furnished their texts, similarly bedraggled from years of use, while those of wealthier homes purchase their own. The primary school for girls is a short distance up the street, a smaller, square mud-brick building subsidized some years ago from private ownership. The intermediate school is to be found in the upper part of the town, a spacious single-storey structure of cement-block, completed in 1950. 344 [352] [872]

The several instructors of the girl's primary school are women. Those of the boy's primary school and intermediate school are men, numbering nine in all, including the three school directors. Because the Kurdish language is mandatory for beginning instruction, the teachers are either Muslim Kurds or Christians, Nestorians or Chaldaeans, most of whom come from Erbil or Mosul. None 875

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is native to the town, although one is related to the chief *mulla*. It is interesting that a substantial number are Christians, for in contemporary Egypt it is commonplace that Coptic Christian students are at a disadvantage with their Muslim instructors and fellows. Here the roles are reversed: the Christian instructor can be placed in some embarrassment by his Muslim pupils. Most rural schoolteachers, such as those of Rowandus, are young men of poorer families, graduates of the teachers' college in Baghdad, and, within the hierarchy of the Iraqi civil service, occupy a low position indeed. They are not highly paid (and can hence little afford the amusements of the others), and are to some extent looked down upon by bona fide administrators, army and police officers. Because of such disabilities, instructors have the not undeserved reputation of being an easy prey to extremist political formulae, and are subject to some official distrust and scrutiny. With meticulous conduct required of him in addition to his other complaints, the teacher is apt to feel his lot is extremely unhappy, if not precarious. On the other hand, the teacher, because he is often courted by the fathers of his pupils, is likely to play a much wider part in the social life of the town than, say, an army officer, and to enjoy considerable prestige among the lower classes, a role among these last which will be returned to later.

Playing a part in the social life of the town far greater in importance than any which it might normally

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perform in its formal administration is the army. It would 701
be ungrateful to speculate on the character or strength of 554
strategic installations throughout the district, as these constitute an important link in the chain of defenses which guard the northern frontier of Iraq. It is possible, however, to make some cogent general remarks concerning the unit which has its training headquarters near Rowanduz, and whose commandant, a colonel, has prestige and power equivalent to that of the *qaimmaqam*. On the southeastern bank 712
of the Rowanduz river, between Rowanduz and Jindian, is located the garrison, quartered in a huge rectangular barracks enclosing an interior parade ground, constructed some years ago by the British. This building houses barracks, stores, offices, mess-rooms, and, with a few exceptions, everything necessary to the operation of the unit. Near it other parade and training grounds have been set up. Slightly closer to Rowanduz, below the road by the river, is a motley aggregate of small mud-brick dwellings which are used as married quarters for the non-commissioned officers. Such of the officers as are accompanied by their wives have their homes in Rowanduz.

The unit includes a large number of officers and en- 701
listed men, and the ethnic origins of both groups are some- 563
what varied. The colonel was a Muslim Kurd, a major was a Nestorian Christian, one captain was a "Marsh Arab,"[1] and

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[1] "Marsh Arab" is English usage; referred to as *Ma'adan*, they prefer the term *sharqi*, "easterner," themselves.

another was of a Muslim Turkish family. Enlisted personnel 701
include a large number of conscripts assigned there for 563
training, many of them "Marsh Arabs." Uniforms and equip-
ment, like organization, are derived from the British army, 705
and the army has, of course, a greater variety of modern [177]
arms, as well as equipment, than the police. It might be
thought that the district would gain from the supply of such
a unit, but most of the rations are brought in by lorry from
the quartermaster depot in Erbil. The details of training 702
need not concern us. It is a common sight, however, to see
a company of infantry struggling up a mountain-side in
manoeuvres, and in the summer the valleys may resound with
artillery practice.

Officers, when off duty, have free pass to Rowanduz, 701
and it is from this fact that they exercise an important 517
social influence in the town. Enlisted personnel, excepting
those few non-commissioned officers who have homes there,
are not permitted in Rowanduz save during the daylight hours
of Friday. It is some testimony to their desire for diversion that so many make the long climb to the town on
Friday, simply to sit in a chaikhana where they can drink [272]
tea, talk, and play at backgammon (tawli in colloquial [524]
Iraqi Arabic). Military police patrol the streets of [703]
Rowanduz, not only on this day, but throughout the week.
However, enlisted men have much freer access to Kawlokan, 361
the small collection of houses and a mosque, which marks 701
the site of old Rowanduz beneath the bluff, and there is a 265

roadside *chaikhana* between Kaniokan and the barracks. With 361 701
the reputations of their daughters in mind, the townspeople [265]
of Rowanduz keep the enlisted personnel of the army at some [186]
distance, and, because the army has greater freedom in
Kaniokan, describe its population, perhaps a hundred in all, [548]
as being wholly made up of "prostitutes and procurers."
There seems to be no truth in the accusation. In addition, 273
they do not tolerate arrack-drinking by enlisted men in
Rowanduz. The story is often told how several years ago a 273
soldier managed to become intoxicated while in town and 627
made loud and unseemly remarks in a *chaikhana*. He was
thrown into the gorge, and, in the inquiry into his death,
the townspeople asserted that, while drunk, he claimed "he
was able to fly," and that they knew nothing of the matter
beyond this.

There are, at times, government agents of other 647
departments at work in the district, for example, those of
the Directorate-General of Agriculture, but their connections
are with Erbil or Baghdad, rather than with Rowanduz itself.
Some of the most important of these are the engineers of the 653
department charged with public works, for they utilise local
labor in their constructions. In the summer of 1951 one
such engineer was engaged in resurfacing the road between [499]
Rowanduz and Jindian, and some fifty men from Rowanduz and
the district were employed in this work. There are any
number of others, such as repairmen for the telephone and [206]
telegraph lines, who frequent the area.

The town of Rowandus, as has been noted, has a population 161
of some 5,000 persons, the constitution of which shall 621
be dealt with later. A town of this size qualifies as a
municipality (Arabic, *baladiya*) and the *qaimmaqam* of Rowandus
occupies, in addition to his own office, that of *rais* 622
baladiya, a position similar to that of an American mayor,
save that it is appointive rather than elective. Normally
the *rais baladiya* in Iraq has a headquarters, comparable to
the American city hall, and a staff of his own, including [624]
a treasurer and other officials. In Rowandus, however, there
has not been any particular need for the institution of such
a separate body, and "metropolitan" administrative requirements
are met through *qadha* or district facilities.

The problems presented by town administration appear 625
to be very slight. Public order is maintained by the
qadha-police and minor violations of the civil code (few of
the townspeople have recourse to "tribal law") as well as [692]
legal processes are handled directly by the judge. In 674
comparison with the outlying districts, the town is relatively
law-abiding, aside from a certain amount of juvenile
pilfering. Quarrels among women are quite frequent, the 579
cause most often a fight between their children. Such
skirmishes begin with words ("prostitute" is a favorite),
and degenerate to hair-pulling or an exchange of blows with
kabkabs (a wooden sandal with a leather strap; in Arabic, [411]
qubqab or *qabqab*). The neighbors usually intervene, and [627]
rarely, if ever, does such a thing require official attention.
Fighting between men is infrequent, but can become

dangerous if it reaches the point of knives. The blow 579
with the closed fist is unknown in Rowanduz, and one
strikes with the open palm or wrestles. Sticks or [411]
khanjirs are the next favored weapons in such an exchange,
and it is considered shameful for a man to bite or scratch
like a woman. As in other Islamic communities, quarrels,
sometimes quite serious, are much more common during the
fast of Ramadan. Four violent exchanges were observed
between women on one day during Ramadan. However, there had [682]
been in 1951 no homicides in the town for a period of three
years. Criminals of a higher order are at present unknown. [674]
The last of them, Nuri Bawil Agha, who dabbled in brigandage,
smuggling, and blackmail, now suffers life imprisonment for [682]
the murder of Isma'il Beg. Nuri is said to have often
arranged the theft of goods from merchants, and then to
have sold them back to the owners for appropriate sums.

The office of the *mukhtar*, Ra'uf Effendi, in Rowanduz 622
is peculiar, for it does not seem to have an incisive everyday definition. It is not elective, and a *mukhtar* is selected by the government with the more or less tacit consent of his fellows. His work, such as it is, consists in acting in liaison between the people and the *rais baladiya* (at present, the *qaimmaqam*) and, to a certain extent, being a guarantee for their good conduct. He is without police authority, but acts to mitigate minor quarrels between townspeople, and, with the force of public opinion, has some power to command. He stands between the people and the government, presenting the

grievances of the former and explaining and facilitating the operations of the latter. He is called upon to certify certain government documents, such as an order for a young man's conscription, together with two chosen old men who act as witnesses. Ra'uf Effendi claimed to be assisted by two informal "agents" who brought him secretly the news circulating in the town, probably his own device for keeping in regular touch with popular opinion. Socially the office of mukhtar presupposes a qualification of wealth, for he is expected to maintain a diwankhana (a room in his house in which guests of social distinction could be appropriately received and entertained). Although Rowandus itself is non-tribal and the people as a whole pay no allegiance to a chieftain, it will be seen in comparison with later exposition that the mukhtar, with several other wealthy men, occupies a position in society analogous to that of an aristocrat. In fact, a girl, castigated by her relatives in a love affair, may seek sanctuary in the house of the mukhtar, a custom which is solely reserved for chieftains in the countryside. Such a case occurred in 1949 and Ra'uf Effendi was able to smooth over the affair, arranging the girl's marriage with the youth in question. 622 [556] [574] [554] [627]

In closing this section it remains to contrast the present administration of the district with that of the Ottoman Empire immediately prior to the first World War. In that time Rowandus was the seat (a kasa) of a qaimmaqam under the Kirkuk sanjaq of the vilayet of Mosul. Administratively it was thought as important as Erbil and, as 775 634 648

today, a number of troops were garrisoned there. With 175
respect to Erbil, the administrative equality has been 634
changed, although a fifth *nahiya* added to the Ottoman 648
four. It cannot be said that the Ottoman administration with its officers, judges, tax-collectors, and its serai was too different in outward form from that of today. The knowledge of bureaucratic government is nothing new to the district. In contrast to the present administration, however, the Turks were extremely venal, but it cannot be legitimately said, as it is with respect to other former Ottoman holdings, that they were vicious. While there were often skirmishes between segments of the population and the Ottoman gendarmes and troops, there is no particular recollection of Turkish "atrocities" in the area, for in the nineteenth century the Kurds, at home in their mountains, were the military equals of their opponents. The opening of new roads and the adoption of modern arms has changed much of this, and the Kurd has learned to respect automatic [411]
weapons, artillery, and aircraft. In a number of regards, such as education and public health, it can be seen that the new government enters much more completely into the interests of the people, and, according to popular opinion, has subverted many functions formerly reserved to the chieftains alone. In summary, it appears that the administration today is at once more rigorous and more enlightened than that of Ottoman times.

In conclusion certain observations on the present 634
administration may be reinforced. It can be observed how 648

little the people, aside from a personage like the mukhtar, 634
are able to participate in their own government. Rowanduz, 649
as the physical center of this government, exerts a powerful influence as well as a formal control not only over the townspeople but over the district as a whole. Such an administration, while in no sense new or unique, has extended the range of its activities into a great part of the people's life, and it is impossible to deny its relevance as the most powerful determinant in the change of local culture. Lastly, a new "elite" of civil officials and [647]
officers, alien to the area, make up its directing personnel [554]
and add a new element, reinforced by prestige and power, to the older form of society.

CHAPTER III

THE MERCANTILE CENTER

The mountainous character of the Rowanduz region, its 311
many peaks and gorges, acts to limit the amount of arable [133]
land. It would be difficult to estimate the actual extent
of the land which might be brought under cultivation, but
it could only be a smaller part of the entire area. Wide,
level stretches of land are to be found, such as the plains
about Batas or Dyana, but many other holdings are no more
than strips cut into hillsides or cliffs. On the other 231
hand, in the absence of mineral exploitation or industry, 241 [316]
a high percentage, perhaps 80%, of the population is directly
engaged in agriculture or animal husbandry, and the
productive wealth of the district is almost wholly derived from
these two pursuits.

Game is not abundant, and hunting and fishing cannot 224
be said to add any important supplement to the food supply. 226
In the town of Rowanduz itself there are four professional
fishermen and a hunter, but their activities are seasonal,
and they have additional employment. Ibex, the long-horned 224
mountain goat, is hunted chiefly for sport, and strong- [136]
smelling skins and horns are exhibited as trophies by local
huntsmen. In accordance with Quranic prescription, if such
game is to be eaten, it must be bled while still "alive,"
after having been brought down with a rifle. The local 000

The local
mountain partridge (Kurdish, chikaw) makes a regularly 223
favored dish, and is clubbed or snared. Wolves are 224
occasionally shot in winter for their pelts, and a few 136
furs may always be seen hanging in the shops of merchants
in Rowanduz. Snow leopards and bears are only rarely
encountered. Numerous stories surround bears and their 825
predilection for honey. They are thought to be in some
way akin to humans, and tales of their abduction of women
for mates are frequent. Fishing, carried on with nets or 226
bombs of blasting powder, is similarly limited, and the
largest catch is a type of carp.

Animal husbandry constitutes one of the most important 231
activities of the area, because wool and skins are two of
its few valuable exports. The animals so utilized are the
black-haired goat and fat-tailed sheep, the latter often
stained with some mark in red ochre as a "brand." From [422]
the sheep and goats wool, skins, flesh, and milk are obtained.
Cattle have utility as beasts of burden, and are [492]
only rarely slaughtered for their meat. The dairy products 234
of all these animals constitute a large part of the daily 262
diet as milk, mast (artificially curdled milk, yoghurt),
butter, and cheese. Gi or clarified butter is commonly used
in cooking, in competition with industrially produced
vegetable oil, and is prepared by agitating a milk-filled
sheepskin suspended from a wooden tripod and allowing the
butter to melt. It has been noted that the kotchir or 233
nomads seem to act as shepherds for the entire area, but
they do not exercise an exclusive monopoly, for almost

every village maintains its own little flock and its 233 shepherd. In addition, individual households make a 231 practice of buying animals to fatten for slaughter, for example, for the feast that ends Ramadan, and they wander [857] freely in the yards and streets, usually given into the care of a youngster. Poultry and eggs are of similar 235 dietary importance to the villager, and chicken, ducks, [262] geese, and turkeys are kept in large numbers. Mountain partridges, the chikaw spoken of above, are often penned in small cages for fattening. Poultry are usually left to forage for themselves, and almost every household has a number of chickens pecking for nourishment in its yard. One street in Rowanduz, to the fearful exclusion of dogs and bypassers, was entirely dominated by a huge rooster.

For drawing the plough oxen are commonly used. 492 Donkeys and mules are occupied with the transportation of [241] burdens, sometimes far out of proportion to the size and apparent capacity of the animal. Only the Nestorian Christians seem to pack horses, unlike the Kurd or Arab. [563] It is interesting that muleteers, like their compatriots in Europe and America, often carry on extended monologues with [521] their beasts, quite oblivious to the amusement of listeners. One such speech, addressed to a donkey by a young driver and transcribed at the time ran, in part, as follows: "Go along, uncle (khalo), go along. Why are you so slow today? Why are you no longer a friend to me? Ullah! watch out! You nearly broke into that shop. Come along, uncle, you will have me killed one day." Horses, mules, and donkeys

are utilized for riding. One finds here a revealing comparison 492
with the Arab South. In such a country as Egypt
it is commonplace to see a man perched on a donkey while
his wife shuffles along behind on foot. In the Rowanduz [562]
district, the man walks and the woman rides, a contrast
which was several times pointed out by Kurds themselves as
evidence of their loftier respect for their women. Almost 231
every village possesses a large number of watchdogs, the
typical animal large and fawn-coloured, not unlike an
Eskimo husky. In many cases their ears have been cut off,
and there are two stories to account for this practice. One [825]
holds that it enables the dog to hear prowlers more acutely,
and the other claims that the severed ears should be fed
to the puppies to make them more ferocious. The town of
Rowanduz is more or less taken over by its dog population
at night, packs of them running without the houses and
environs, often raising a disturbing uproar with their
quarrels. They sometimes appear dangerous, but have great
respect for a thrown stone. A Kurd approaching a farmhouse
will generally equip himself with a handful of pebbles.
Dogs are usually ignored after they reach maturity, fending
for themselves, but puppies are fondled and made much of by
both children and adults. Cats are conspicuous in their
absence. It might be mentioned here that, aside from
chikaw kept for fighting and dogs, the only other animals
kept for amusement are ground-squirrels, carried by some
in a pocket and danced on the end of a cord in the chaykhana
for the diversion of other customers.

The principal crops of the Rowanduz area, in the 241
order of their importance, are tobacco, wheat, rice, and
millet. Tobacco and rice require a more complex regimen,
the former cultivated by hand and steel mattock and the
latter transplanted into small, flooded plots. Wheat 243
fields are more easily prepared by a light wooden plough
drawn by oxen, and the grain is harvested with short, curved
sickles of steel. Threshing consists in driving oxen
around and around over the harvested sheaves, spread on a
selected floor, until they are broken up, and separating
grain and chaff in the wind with wooden forks. Because [249]
tobacco has a greater market value, it comes to be planted
in increasing quantity, and wheat production has suffered
correspondingly. Today both wheat and rice must be im- [439]
ported into the area, and millet is only a marginal crop.
Every village devotes a certain amount of land and orchard 244
to the production of vegetables and fruits, almost always 245
irrigated. The former include beans, cucumbers, egg-plants,
garlic, lentils, onions, tomatoes, and vegetable marrow,
and the latter, apples, apricots, cherries, grapes, melons,
pears, plums, and pomegranates. Almonds, gall nuts, and [439]
walnuts are important for retail, and are exported from
the district. A red wine and arrack (a clear distillate 273
of fermented grapes, flavored with gum arabic or anise) are
fabricated by the Nestorians and, insofar as they are not
consumed at home, are illegally sold about the district.
Apiculture is a specialty of certain villages, and the 231
beehives are transported among favored locations in mountain

and valley according to the season. The agricultural year 231
approximates that of Central and Northern Europe, in that 241
planting begins in the spring and harvesting after midsummer.
Winter is a lean season, particularly with respect
to fruits and vegetables, for there are almost no techniques [251]
known to preserve most varieties through winter and spring.

It is necessary to note that grain in the area is 256
ground into flour by water-driven mills, but their construction,
a water-driven rotor turning a millstone, need
not detain us.[1] There are three such mills (Kurdish, *ashi*,
from Arabic, *hashiya*) near the town of Rowanduz, Ashi
Shaykhi immediately above the town, Ashi Miri in Kawlokan,
and Ashi Bayshukh at Jindian. The general practice is to [465]
pay the mill-owner one bowl of flour from every four-gallon
tin ground. If the owner of the grain is wealthy, he may
pay the miller the monetary equivalent of the bowl, a small
sum.

It is almost impossible to describe a "typical" 361
agricultural village for the area, because there is a great
deal of variation in size, and some differences in the
emphasis placed on certain crops. However, a small
village overlooking the road between Shaqlawah and Harir
will provide some general idea. This consists of about
thirty rubble and mud-brick houses of a single-storey
with flat mud roofs, built in three rectangular tiers along 342

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[1] A detailed description is to be found in Leach, 1940, pp. 69-70.

342

a hillside, the roofs of the lower tiers serving as
porches for those above. The population of this community [162]
was estimated at about 150 adults. The individual house
is simple, its floor of tamped earth, its windows without
glass, no provision made for the escape of smoke from an [354]
indoor firepit save doors and windows, and its furnishings
meager. Water is obtained from a neighboring stream. This [312]
366
village boasts no specialized constructions and is without
shops. Larger villages, such as Batas or Dyana, have a
number of buildings for special purposes, for example, [344]
the police post and the Nestorian church in Dyana, and a [346]
definite mercantile section. Fields as well as house-yards 417
of the villagers are often marked out with extensive fences
of interlaced branches and thorns or of rubble. In the 231
smaller village described above, cattle and other domestic 342
animals were housed within the dwellings themselves during
cold weather, and in some locales in the area caves are
used as cattle-pens or sheep-folds in the winter. The 361
"agglomerated" village pattern of rural occupation in the
Middle East and in Southern Europe has been noticed often,
but in the Rowanduz district it is possible to find isolated
farm settlements of no more than one or two houses. The 342
kotchir, who do not winter in the area, use for shelter a
black goat-hair tent floored with rugs, in general appearance
not unlike that of Arab nomads, but less complex. Some of
these tents, such as those used by chieftains for summer
guest-houses, are quite spacious and of unique designs.

Just as it is difficult to typify the size and 423
buildings of an agricultural village, the cultivated lands
of a village are held in different ways, and the mode of
land tenure varies from locale to locale. The distinction
between *tapu*, "registered land," and *amiriya*, "state land,"
might be remembered, for it is often the subject of bitter
quarrels between government and chieftains, the latter
holding that certain lands classified as *amiriya* had "be-
longed" to their village or to their tribe for generations.
Aside from this conflict between official and owner, there
are villages which "own" their lands completely, others
which can lay claim to only a part, and still others which
are entirely owned, houses and lands together, by wealthy
landlords, many of whom are absentees. The preferential [454]
conversion of surplus wealth into real estate has been
noted, and the owners of village lands may range from
tribal chieftains and persons of great fortune to relatively
poor merchants or clerks who have invested their savings
in a small plot for the inheritance and support of their
sons. Thus the Rowanduz district has a great number of 423
villagers who are tenants and, while in no sense bound to 427
the soil as serfs, have a relationship with their landlords
which, in its exchange of obligations and courtesies, can
often resemble that between patron and client in the early
days of the Roman Republic. Sadiq Agha, who lives in a
house in Rowanduz, "owns" the village of Shaytina, leaving
its immediate supervision to a sort of bailiff or overseer,
one of the prominent villagers, who is termed the *mukhtar*,

although he has nothing to do with the office of *mukhtar* 423
described in the preceding pages. Sadiq Agha holds a 427
registered title to the land and pays the village's taxes
to the government. In return, through his bailiff, he
lays claim to a certain percentage, about a third, of the
village's crops. Whenever he visits the village he is [576]
treated with great courtesy and with feasting. Now and then
one sees a villager or bailiff kissing the hand of a visiting
overlord, a servile usage which is generally looked
down upon today. On the other hand, a village-owner is
sought by his tenants in a thousand and one minor matters,
a loan, a quarrel, a son to be recruited, and the like. A
more exact description of these reciprocal duties will
follow.

The villagers and *kotchir* fashion almost nothing which
has retail value outside of the district itself, and, as will
be seen more completely with reference to Rowanduz, indigenous
crafts are simple and few in number. Coarse woolen cloth 286
is woven in small square pieces, about eight inches on a
side, and stitched together into long rolls, but this
material is wholly used in the fabrication of local garments. [294]
Two Nestorian weavers and their wives work in a shop in the
upper part of the town of Rowanduz, the only craftsmen of
their religion laboring in the community. Their wooden
loom stands upright, and a hole has been dug into the
earthen floor beneath it to accommodate the weaver's legs.
The shop contains a curious old wooden spinning wheel, although 283
the women preferred the more familiar spindle and 286

and distaff for spinning thread, and a number of metal 283
kettles for dyeing the finished cloth a simple brown or 286
blue. In the villages women do a certain amount of 531
embroidery, for example, two flowered designs on a loosely- 286
woven piece of cloth which can be cut out and stitched 294
together to form a woman's cap, and of knitting, such as
stockings in crudely dyed black and white yarn. Small, buff 323
pottery jugs are fashioned without the wheel and daubed with
designs in a red slip. There is a great deal of woodcarving, 322
such as ladles, combs, bowls, cigarette-holders, and
walking-sticks, some of which find their way out of the [439]
area to Erbil and even Baghdad. Save for a few pieces of 438
carving, however, almost none of these products ever
reach a larger market than that of Rowanduz and bring only
the smallest prices throughout the district. Women offer
them for sale to the merchants in the hope of realizing a
few coppers with which to buy trinkets, and none of these
transactions, compared with agricultural or dairy produce,
has great importance, either for merchant or for villager.

The collection of faggots and production of charcoal 372
for winter fuel are important services performed by the 314
villagers for the larger towns of the district. In the 272
summer, blocks of mountain snow are in great demand in the
town of Rowanduz, particularly for chilling drinks such
as sherbet or *mastaw* (a mixture of curdled milk, *mast*, and
water, *aw*, drunk from a wooden bowl by means of a cumbersome [415]
wooden ladle), as well as large quantities of oak and 313
willow branches which are constructed into summer arbors 417

or windbreaks, and both of these demands are satisfied 313
by the villager. There has been an extensive and serious 417
attempt by the government to curb depredations of standing [656]
timber and to provide for reforestation of the district,
but between the need for fuel in the winter and the desire
for outdoor shelter in summer the trees continue to suffer.

The livelihood of the district, then, consists al- 241
most completely in agriculture and animal husbandry. Al- 231
though the many difficulties which face cultivators and
shepherds elsewhere are to be encountered here, and the
year "fat" or "lean," the threat of famine seems to be very 731
slight. Real starvation is only remembered from the days
of the first World War when a Czarist army cut its way
through the valleys, burning crops and villages, and
emergencies since that time have been few. For the sur- 443
plus, the foci of district marketing have some variation.
It has been seen that the Tobacco Monopoly, centered at [655]
Rowanduz, controls the harvest and sale of tobacco. A
high percentage of other agricultural and dairy products
are consumed in the villages themselves. The surplus
portions may be variously allocated, some sold directly
from the area to agents coming from Erbil, others bought
up in the town of Rowanduz, and still others retailed in
smaller mercantile towns in the district. It must not be
thought that Rowanduz exercises an exclusive commercial
monopoly over the area, for there are a number of towns
with their own merchants, a few of them real competitors,
such as Dyana, and others a natural response to the requirements

of distance. In the presence of enterprising merchants, 443 particularly the *atar* or itinerant traders who will be discussed below, a cultivator in some outlying village need not undertake the arduous journey across broken country to Rowanduz to retail his products and to purchase the materials required by his home.

The agricultural village can enjoy a certain amount 433 of self-sufficiency insofar as its food supply is concerned, although the specialization in tobacco has transformed this to some extent, but there are a number of other requirements which only the merchant can satisfy, many of them "necessary luxuries" without which life is hardly bearable. For reasons which can only be speculated upon, the Kurdish villager is today far from being the master of his environment, and there are undoubtedly present a number of mineral, vegetable, and animal products which could be utilized to good advantage. He is no innovator and his knowledge of [176] what we call woodcraft, the ingenious exploitation of the environment at a primitive level, is practically nothing. Once a young *agha* exhibited as a trophy an ibex skin, 281 dried hard and stiff, which, if properly tanned, would have made an excellent rug or covering. An inquiry, and later investigation, revealed that only a few villagers knew the techniques of preparing skins; almost all of the leather which is locally produced and put into use is what is commonly called rawhide. The villager thus re- 432 quires a great complex of things, of which only a few are cigarette papers, cloth, cooking utensils, iron or steel

tools, kerosene, matches, rice, salt, shoes, and sugar. 432
It must finally be stressed that the economy is one of
money, however minute the sums involved may be. Agricultural
and dairy products are sold for cash, and items
such as have been listed above are purchased on the same
terms. Barter, while it may still occur in some situations, [437]
is not the typical mode of exchange, and the system
of values is always expressed in terms of money.

The town of Rowandus, occupying the sloping top of 361
a great bluff, has roughly three divisions. The lowest
is that first encountered when arriving from the valley
below and contains a number of government buildings, a
scattering of residences, and a large amount of vacant
land, unoccupied because of its higher prices. At a
steeper point of the slope the houses increase in number
and the center of the town is reached, the mercantile area [366]
of closely adjoining shops and dwellings. This section
merges with the heavily settled upper part of the town,
almost wholly residential in character, whose houses
gradually thin out around the hills behind the town. The
mercantile area or *bazar* begins with a steeply sloping
street lined on both sides with shops which terminates in
a wide area, a "square" flanked by the great mosque (*jama'a
al-kabir*), the garage, and two *chaykhanas*. From this
square another street of shops leads upward, finally reaching
a little clearing surrounded by shops from which three
lanes branch out into the houses of the upper town.

Some of the more specialized shops of the *bazar* will 347 require detailed description, but it is possible to present here an idea of the typical merchant's establishment, as many of them are almost identical. This is a three-sided room, open to the street on the fourth, with a width of six to eight feet and a depth which may vary from ten to twenty, although some are much smaller and a few larger than these dimensions. The floor, raised about a foot above the level of the street, is of tamped earth and may have a carpet or mat spread over it. Some establishments have glass cases for the display of merchandise, but it is most often spread out on the floor, hung from nails or piled against the walls. The shopkeeper usually has several wooden stools at his disposal, one for his own use and others for the accommodation of more important customers and visitors. In the event of such a visit cigarettes are offered and tea brought from a nearby chaikhana. Most merchants have a weekly account with the chaikhana-owner, the latter keeping the tally and presenting his bill. Many are assisted by a youngster, often a son or a daughter, who runs errands, delivers purchases in the omnipresent wicker basket, and watches the shop whenever the owner is away. At night the shops are closed with large wooden shutters, mostly made from packing cases and often displaying stencils such as "Fragile" or "Basra Import Company," and are padlocked. 347 [352] [574] [857]

During most of the year the merchant opens his shop at seven or eight o'clock in the morning, and closes it for an afternoon rest at noon. He reopens at three or four 443 461

o'clock and finally locks up for the day at six or seven. 443
Friday, the weekly holiday, does not preclude commerce, and 461
many establishments are operated on a seven-day basis. Business, some merchants hold, is actually better on Friday than during the rest of the week. During the fast of Ramadan many shops are shuttered during the day, but are open much later in the evening. By a mutual agreement of all the *chaykhana*-owners, the tea-shops and places of eating are closed for the day during Ramadan save one. Business, often brisk, in this "sinner's" *chaykhana* is kept within doors and the entrance carefully masked with a heavy burlap hanging. On extremely cold days in winter many merchants close their unheated shops and seek the warmth of a *chaykhana*. A would-be customer must page the merchant he seeks, and the latter returns with him to open up the shop just long enough to conclude the sale.

It has already been noticed that all transactions 437
are in terms of money. It is more or less standard that many European and American travelers in the Middle East are led to believe that any sale must be accompanied by interminable haggling and bargaining. This may be perfectly true of larger towns, particularly purchases in which a foreigner is involved, but in a rural setting such as that of Rowanduz the case is quite otherwise. In the everyday business of the *bazar* it would be difficult to observe an example of protracted bargaining, for the range of price for any given article is as well known by the purchaser as it is by the merchant. A woman seeking to buy

an item will canvass a number of shops, inquiring into 437
its price, until she finds what she believes to be the
lowest, nothing more than the "comparison shopping" of the
European or American housewife, and without bargaining.
This does not mean that foreigners will not be overcharged.
In the summer of 1951 the price of a *khanjir* or dagger was 435
fixed at the unbelievable sum of three *dinars* (a much more
elaborate example of the same weapon costs about one sixth
of this price in Baghdad or Damascus) due to the indiscreet
outlay of an American visitor, and neither bargaining nor
ruse could bring it down again. It was immutably established
that Americans pay three *dinars* for their *khanjirs*, and
one was constantly hailed by persons offering the sorriest
specimens in the hopes of realizing that price. Prices are,
within certain limits, geared to the social status of the
purchaser, and the *qaimaqam*, for example, might be expected to pay more for a given commodity than another. In
a small town of this sort, however, while prices are uncontrolled, public opinion and the facility with which one
merchant will undersell another, act as strong limitations,
and the difference between "asking price" and "selling
price" is apt to be insignificant.

There is extensive daily cooperation among merchants. 443
If a customer, for example, wished to buy six tea-glasses 476
from a certain shopkeeper and only four were on hand, the
latter would send his boy down the street to borrow what
was required from another merchant. The same is true of
money, and cashing a large banknote may involve any number

of persons in a series of exchanges. There is neither 443
bank nor money-changer in the town, and the funds of a [476]
merchant are in interesting safekeeping, either locked up [453]
in a chest or buried in the floor in his house, the latter [454]
practice being quite common. For everyday purposes the
merchant keeps only a little cash on hand, usually a
dinar or two in change in a tin cigarette-box or a drawer.
A number of the older men are illiterate, and the diffi- 451
culties of keeping accounts give them great trouble. [212]
Several years ago the teachers offered the townspeople [674]
some courses along these lines at night, and were very
surprised at their popularity. The greybeards learning [522]
their arithmetic is still considered a grand joke. Usually
the illiterate merchants seek the help of some friend to
prepare their lists and to work out more complicated sums,
and many place high expectation in the help of their sons
at school.

Before describing in greater detail the roles of 463
the merchants and craftsmen of the town, it is convenient
here to provide a list of persons according to their
occupations. It will readily be seen that a number of
these are not engaged in commerce or craft, and still
others employed only in the service of those residing in
the town. It is appropriate, however, to present a
complete grouping, inasmuch as these are the occupations
of the townspeople, save only those who are wealthy enough
to neglect work, the *mullas* or religious leaders, those

employed by the government, and those without work at all. 463

Bakers	8
Barbers	3
Blacksmiths	2
Bootblacks	2
Brickmaker	1
Butchers	4
Carpenters	4
Cloth-sellers (bazaz)	20
Cobblers	6
Drivers	3
Farriers	2
Fishermen	4
General merchants	10
Hotel-owner (khanchi)	1
Hunter	1
Itinerant traders (siar) ... variable:	30-50
Laborers ... variable:	30-50
Laundresses	unknown
Masons and builders	3
Midwives	4
Muleteers	5
Porters	8
Restaurant-owner	1
Roasters of meat (kababchis)	3
Seamstresses	6
Servants	unknown
Tailors	8
Tea-shop owners	10
Tinsmiths	3
Weavers	2
Wholesale merchants	5

It is an interesting characteristic of Rowanduz that no 241 person living in the town is directly employed in agriculture [231] or animal husbandry, nor does the town itself lay claim to agricultural lands or pasturage, although a dozen or so persons living therein own such property. There are, to be sure, a number of gardens within its precincts, and [347] not a few of its people have been drawn directly from the soil. This circumstance, the total absence of cultivators, seems puzzling at first, but a comparison with similar towns seems to indicate it is probably fortuitous. The salient feature appears to be the absence of everyday agricultural concerns and their concomitant social implications in the life of the townspeople. 241

Of those who furnish the community with food and drink, the tea-shop owner or *chaychi* might be considered first. There are ten *chaykhanas* in the town. That located beside the serai has already been noticed, and the other nine are all within the *bazar* area. The buildings vary considerably, for example, three occupy second storeys overlooking the street, but the furnishings are singularly uniform. One such building, the "sinner's" *chaykhana* spoken of above, was of a single storey, rectangular, and built of mud-brick, with a yard on the street and a little porch overlooking the gorge behind. The yard, in use during fair weather, had a number of high, unfinished wooden benches and chairs arranged about it, and the same type of furniture was to be found within the building. In a corner of the room near the door was a huge brass urn, not unlike those used in our restaurants for coffee, a pottery water-jug, and a collection of utensils. The owner usually occupied a bench beside the door and had a brass tray on the table before him in which he made change. He had a collection of celluloid counters for keeping a tally on tea sent out to the merchants. A waiter in skull-cap and slippers served the customers and brought the money to the owner.

265
347
[352]
[415]
[451]

The etiquette of entering a *chaykhana* varies somewhat according to the personalities of its customers. In 265
576

a formal situation, particularly when the person entering 265
is a stranger and receives some scrutiny from those 576
already seated, the visitor pauses momentarily in the
doorway and murmurs, "the peace be upon you," *as-Salamu
alaykum*, which is returned by a low chorus of "and upon
you the peace," *wa alaykum as-Salam*. On taking a seat it
is customary for the newcomer to turn to each of his
several neighbors and to raise himself slightly in his
place, touching his forehead with the right hand in a
salute, saying, "the goodness of God," *Ullah bikhayr*,
which is returned with a similar salute and the same
words. The refreshments of a *chaykhana* are limited. Tea 265
is served in small tulip-shaped glasses (*istakhan*) on [45]
porcelain saucers with little brass spoons. A piece of [272]
coarse sugar is placed in the bottom of the glass before the [262]
liquid is decanted. *Mastaw*, curdled milk and water, is
served in a large wooden bowl with a ladle. Some *chaykhanas*
offer sherbets, a sweet syrup mixed with water in a
tumbler. No coffee is sold in the *chaykhana*, nor are there
any edibles, although youngsters often hawk bread or sweets. [443]
Entertainment consists only in conversation or *tawli*, backgammon, [524]
the board and pieces furnished by the management.
The decorations may be a few framed photographs, usually of 353
the ruler, some coloured illustrations torn from a Egyptian 265
magazine, or metal plaques enamelled with a verse from the
Quran. Some of these decorations seem to conceal curious
histories. A *chaykhana* in Sulaymaniya, for example, displayed
an old framed photograph of the Swedish royal family,

and another an old electric light bulb suspended from the 265
ceiling by a string. [353]

The maintenance of a *chaykhana* can be a fairly lucra- 265
tive business, for it plays an important part in the social 554
life of the lower classes. In the absence of any other [517]
entertainment, there is almost always a large number of
persons in the *chaykhānas*, merchants, workmen, soldiers and
policemen off duty, and loafers. The *chaykhana*, however,
is definitely limited to the lower orders of society. One
of the higher ranking officials, for example, the *qaimmaqam*
or the judge, would never be seen in such a place, nor would
the army officers. The dividing line is to be found in the
teachers, who sometimes visit in pairs or groups, but prefer
the town "club" because it has none of the stigma attached
to the tea-shop. The landed aristocrats, the chieftains,
are not bound by the scruples of official or officer, but
tend to avoid the places. The reason is clear and explicit.
A man of the higher echelons of society is expected to [574]
maintain a *diwankhana* or guest-room in his home where he
can entertain, and to be entertained in the houses of his
friends, rather than purchase his refreshment in common with
others. Similarly, a man of some standing in the community [558]
who spends much of his time in *chaykhanas* will quickly acquire
the reputation of a loafer. Finally, as enlisted men from [701]
the army are to be found there on Fridays, there is talk [578]
that these places harbor homosexuals (*hatiw baz*, "homo- [838]
sexual," is a formidable term of abuse, an epithet which
elicits knives.)

elicits knives). No woman of any class of society is ever seen in a chaykhana. The bus from Rowanduz to Erbil makes several stops at tea-shops. The female passengers remain within or near the bus, and refreshments are brought out to them. 265 554 [562] [494]

The restaurant is to be found in a little arcade just above the central "square." In its furnishings it differs very little from a chaykhana, and its fare does not offer the customer a wide variety of choice. One can obtain kabab (finely-cut meat moulded about a skewer and grilled), stew, boiled eggs, bread, tea, and little else, and, by popular admission, the preparation often leaves much to be desired. Almost no one residing in the town patronized the place, save as a chaykhana, and its custom was solely derived from transients in the town who could find no other place to eat. 265 [262]

The butchers operate on a contractual basis. There is no refrigeration in the town, and, particularly during the summer months, meat must be consumed a short time after the animal is killed. Hence persons desiring to make a purchase must let the butcher have their order a day in advance, in order that he will be able to estimate the number of animals necessary for slaughter. The slaughtering-place is a gravel cut in a hill behind the town with a number of posts to which the animals are tied, and the slaughtering always takes place early in the morning. The meat which is not immediately sent to private customers is 253 [251] carried into town and hung from metal hooks on a wall between two shops. By ten o'clock in the morning the butcher's day is finished, and, aside from the slaughtering-place and the sales' display on hooks, he has no other place of business. Only two or three animals are killed each day, always sheep or goats, because cattle, in their utility in agriculture and the impossibility of profitably disposing of so large a quantity of meat, are almost never killed. The butchers purchase their animals from villagers or kotchir, and sell the dressed meat to their patrons. All parts of the beast are disposed of, if not by humans, then by dogs, and by noon the slaughtering-place is bare, save for a few blackened stains of blood on the gravel. The butchers' greatest days of business occur on the first days of the feasts of Jayjani Ramazan (the 'Ayd al-saghir, "the lesser feast," which ends the fast of Ramadan on the first days of the tenth lunar month) and Jayjani Qurban (the 'Ayd al-kabir, "the greater feast," which begins on the tenth day of the twelfth lunar month) when every family able to afford the expense has a sheep or a goat slaughtered in sacrifice. Most households purchase their animals in advance, keeping them in the houseyard until the day of the feast. 253 796 782 253

That the fishermen and the hunter are only seasonally employed has already been noticed. They offer their respective catches in the bazar at large, or go from door to door among the wealthier households. Villagers with chikaw 443 [224] [226] [223] appear frequently in the town, for they are virtually assured of a sale. Poultry are not merchandized by any specific persons, because almost every house possesses a number of chickens or ducks, and any person who does not have his own makes a purchase by sending out a call into the neighborhood. The only turkey in the town, a huge bird, was kept by a police sergeant, and people wondered for what magnificent occasion it was being reserved. The sergeant, queried on the point, was uncertain himself, stating that his wife and servant had grown rather fond of the bird because of its notoriety. Dairy products such as milk, mast, and cheese, together with eggs, fruits, and vegetables, are brought daily to the town by villagers, arriving early in the morning and selling their produce to merchants or at the doors of houses. A large proportion of this trade is handled by the women of Balikian, a nearby agricultural village on the main road, and early every morning a number of them make the journey up to Rowanduz, their wares slung over their backs in shawls. They are a feature of life in the bazar, and spend an hour or two after their business is concluded gathered about its shops, sometimes purchasing a few trinkets or the requirements of their homes. They are unveiled, like most village women of the lower class, and, interestingly, are vilified one and all by the townspeople as prostitutes. It is supposed that they sell other things in addition to mast and cheese, and the "half dinar egg" (an impossible price

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[223]
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for an egg alone) is a notorious commodity. The army 186
officers are believed to visit their village regularly, 554 443
and all of its inhabitants are held to suffer from "the 548
Russian sickness," a souvenir of the Czarist army. The [164]
investigator's interpreter carried on some scandalous conversations [521]
with some of these girls until they were driven
away by the house-owner, but whether there was serious intention
or simply the earthy banter of peasant women is
hard to decide. In Egypt it is possible to hear daily such
exchanges between fallahin men and women without the
slightest possibility of realization. Inasmuch as Balikian [837]
has its husbands and sons, it is impossible to believe
that any significant proportion of its female population is
so engaged, despite the verdict of the Rowanduzis and the
wild boasts of the younger army officers.

If there is any occupation in the town which carries 265
with it the double stigma of being at once menial and dirty, [558]
it is that of the roasters of meat or kababchis. The
kababchi, always in some state of undress and blackened with
the smoke of his fire, is hence often of a surly and resentful
temperament, and a number of stories, by no means confined
to the Kurds, confirm this character. The kababchi
works in close liaison with the butcher, from whom he
obtains his meat, and, like the butcher, works according
to order. Two confine their operations to their houses, 252
while the third maintains a smoke-blackened booth in the 265
bazar. The meat is prepared in two ways, either finely

diced and moulded about a metal skewer (*kabab*) or alter- 252
nated in whole pieces of flesh and fat upon the same 265
implement (*tika*). A charcoal fire is prepared in a [354]
rectangular metal brazier and brought to a bed of glowing
coals with a wicker fan. The skewers are placed over
this fire, and turned, with continuous fanning of the blaze,
until the meat is done. The grilled product is largely 265
sold by order to private homes, but some may be used in 437
the restaurant and still other offered to customers in a
chaykhana. As with the butcher, one must place a request
on the day preceding, for after noontime the *kababchi* has
often exhausted his supply of meat. The name of this [578]
occupation can be used in insult, and has much the same
meaning and strength as "chimney-sweep" in England of a
hundred years ago.

One of the most important items in the diet of the 256
townspeople is bread, and a huge quantity is baked daily, [262]
both by professionals and housewives. In addition to the
men who are bakers by profession, there are a number of
women who prepare a surplus beyond their needs at home
which is peddled about the town. The usual sales technique [443]
involves equipping the children of the house, either of [857]
baker or of housewife, with basketfuls and dispatching them
from shop to shop in the *bazar* and from house to house in
the town. The flour, purchased from merchants or mill- [415]
owners, is a coarsely-ground, greyish product, and, with
the addition of water, is kneaded into dough in a huge,
flat bottomed tub.

flat-bottomed metal tub. The oven, made of fire-hardened 256
clay, is a large beehive-shaped affair with its round, [354]
open mouth close to the top and the draught so arranged
that the fire below is extremely hot and smokeless. When
the oven is heated, the flat unleavened cakes are slapped
against the inner wall of the oven near its mouth and
plucked off when they are done. Even though baked one at
a time, the intense heat of the oven permits the production
of a great number of cakes in a relatively short period
of time. The resulting product is a round, greyish-brown 262
cake about eight inches in diameter and a half inch in
thickness. As with other peoples of the Middle East,
bread or *nan* is treated with almost religious reverence,
and to maltreat it, for example, to throw it away, is
regarded as the incredible abuse of a blessing.[1] Dis-
covering this, some of the British troops stationed in
Iraq used to bait their servants by kicking crusts about
their messroom floor. In Rowanduz, it is customary when
a man spies a fragment of bread on the ground that he pick [735]
it up, kiss it, press it to his forehead, and place it on
a wall or some other spot "for the poor," a usage which
was observed in the streets several times.

The hotel, *khan* or *qarvansara*, is reached through 485
a narrow entryway between two shops near the restaurant.
It is a peculiarly shaped structure, apparently built up

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[1] Some idea of this is to be seen in the Egyptian colloquial word for bread, *'aysh*, which in literary Arabic and in other dialects means "life".

over the years without reference to any plan, surrounding 485
a sort of courtyard. In addition to a row of single rooms
opening on the court, it shelters some shops and storerooms. [444]
The principal merchant who uses it as a place of business
is a Nestorian who lives in Dyana and who, in addition to
other enterprises, monopolizes the profitable supply of [274]
bottled beer and arrack to the civil servants and officers.
He comes to Rowandus only two or three times each week, and,
during Ramadan, when drinking of alcoholic beverages is
foresworn by most, keeps away entirely. The hotel itself
offers the transient little more than a room and a bedstead.
He is expected to furnish his own bedding, and to find
nourishment as best he can. The "hotel," in brief, is
little more than "a roof overhead and lesser animiculae
within," in this, a modern descendant of the khan or funduq
of Medieval days, so often described and so often cursed
by travelers of that era.[1] Visiting government employees 485
normally find accommodations with one of the local civil 574
servants, army officers seek the barracks in the valley
and Kurds, as well as Nestorians, who must spend a night
in the town can find free lodgings and meals at the great
house of Isma'il Beg. It follows that the khan is little 485
used, and its few occupants are usually commercial travelers 554
from Erbil or beyond, too low in social status to apply to
the civil servants and too timid to avail themselves of
Kurdish hospitality.

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[1] Mazaheri, 1951, pp. 193-194.

The employment of masons and builders is not solely confined to the town of Rowanduz, for specialists of this type are often called out to neighboring villages to supervise the constructions of wealthier people. 333 The "mason" is not only expected to exercise his own craft, but must also fill the posts of architect, contractor, and general foreman. 331 Having obtained the land, those who desire to build hold a consultation with the mason, reaching a verbal contract in which the materials, the amount of time necessary for completion, and the price are stipulated. The mason must then purchase the materials, arrange for their transportation, hire, insofar as it is necessary, the requisite labor, supervise the construction, and do the most difficult tasks, for example, the actual laying of bricks, himself. Builders of this type do not belong to guild or union, but seem to maintain themselves within the strength of their families. A building operation is apt to involve a number of sons, brothers, and nephews, with the mason as a sort of congenial taskmaster and guiding spirit, who alternately pleads and jests with his workers. The operation can suffer from general lassitude, and the owner must at last have words with the builders. Most houses appear to reach completion by means of a series of such arguments. Constructing a larger house in Rowanduz is a relatively expensive undertaking. 331 435 342 Two houses and their land, located in the higher-priced lower portion of town, cost the *mukhtar*, Ra'uf Effendi, about 1500 *dinars*. The lots accounted for half the price, and the average cost of

each house was thus in the neighborhood of 375 *dinars* 331 342
(almost a thousand American dollars). With such capital [435]
as this involved, building is a serious business and [691]
litigations between owner and mason appear frequently
before the judge. Poorer townspeople with a flair for
the work sometimes build their own simple homes, but
anything larger requires the specialist. In such smaller [476]
constructions Rowanduz seems to have little "communalism,"
for, while the neighbors may lend a hand, there is no
tradition which requires the aid of others.

Some of the important details of house construction
will be found in the succeeding section. There is one 339
person in the town who devotes himself to the manufacture
of mud-bricks and the supply of large pieces of uncut
stone, these last used for threshholds, courtyards, steps,
and the like. The moistened soil for bricks is mixed with
chaff and moulded with a wooden form. The shaped bricks
are laid out in rows in the sun to dry, and, when hardened,
are ready for construction. No fire-burnt bricks are
manufactured in the town. There is no special place for
brick-making, and in 1951 an empty lot near the house of
Isma'il Beg was used for this purpose. Similarly, there 324
is no particular stone-quarry for the district, and any [316]
convenient outcrop may be used. The people of the district are not skilled in stoneworking, and most pieces,
usually of limestone, are only crudely roughed into flat,
irregular slabs. Mud-brick, because it is more easily 333

produced and cheaper, tends more and more to replace stone 333
in house building, despite the fact that thereby the life
of a house, particularly in a region of winter rain and
snow, is considerably shortened. Mud-brick has undoubtedly
been known in the region from antiquity, but its greatly
increased use in the construction of house walls is a
feature of the last half-century. Cement-blocks, which
have been cited in certain government structures, are
imported, and these buildings themselves are constructed
under the direction of government engineers. Some of the
chieftains in outlying villages have not missed the
advantages of building stone and concrete over mud-brick as
far as small arms fire is concerned, and one of them, [712]
Mahmud Beg of the Baradost, was busy in erecting a large
building which on completion will be almost the duplicate
of a fortified police post.

The carpenters of the town are occupied partially 335
in building and partially in the repair of furniture and 322
certain manufactures. Heavier pieces of timber are rare
in such a deforested area, and most of them, such as lintels,
are used again and again. Mud-roofs are laid down on a
thick layer of poles and twigs which are furnished by
village woodmen. Doorposts and doors are made of heavy,
roughly cut timber, and window-frames with glass must be
imported from Erbil. Furniture, benches and chairs, are [352]
used for generations, and the carpenters simply repair
them, rather than manufacture new items. Aside from this

Aside from this
work in building and repair, the only significant production 335
of the carpenters is the small chest used by housewives for 322
their goods. Almost every married woman has a collection 322 422
of "treasures," clothing, jewelry, glassware, and the like, 415
which dates from her wedding (it is, in fact, a part of [583]
her dowry, and a significant economic commodity, as it may
include a sizeable sum in gold), and which is displayed
on festive occasions. These goods are stored in wooden
chests, sometimes covered with sheets of tin, and always
brightly painted. Two shops in Rowanduz maintained by
carpenters display a large number of these, and there is
always a demand for them in the event of a wedding. The 412
carpenter's tools and equipment, mattocks, hammers, planes, [439]
chisels, nails, and so on, are almost all imported from
Europe or elsewhere in the Middle East. Wooden biers, and 322
occasionally coffins, for the dead are also made by the [764]
carpenters. Smaller items of wood, such as cradles, are [854]
fashioned in the households of villagers.

The main work of the farriers and blacksmiths is 326
the shoeing of horses, mules, and donkeys. The govern- 231
ment veterinarian attends to the beasts of the civil [232]
service and army, but, although his services are available
to the townspeople, most prefer the farriers who, in
addition to their craft, are thought to be experts in
curing animal diseases. The workshops of both farriers and
blacksmiths, with their diminutive anvils and charcoal
fires, are within the *bazar*, and the shoeing of a donkey

is an event which always attracts a number of spectators. 326
The blacksmiths also forge a few crude agricultural tools [231]
and do a certain amount of repair work. There is extensive
scavenging of iron, and the blacksmith's establishment contains
a huge number of odds and ends which might some day
find a customer. Hinges and nails, for example, are purchased [414]
by builders and householders. Tinsmiths exercise 326
considerable importance in domestic economy in the fabrication 415
and, particularly, the repair of cooking utensils, and
their workshops in the bazar are daily sought by a large
number of persons, not only from the town, but from the
district at large. The poorly-made metal pots and pans
are always in need of repair, and the tinsmith, much more
so than many of his fellows, has an extremely brisk trade.
One important specialty is the repair of cracked or broken 323
porcelain dishes. Large platters, imported long ago from 415
abroad and used in serving food, are precious family heirlooms
and handed down from generation to generation. A
crack is repaired by drilling a series of tiny holes through
the dish on either side of the break and fastening them
together with metal cleats. One of the dearest possessions 415
of a housewife is her samovar for brewing tea, and those 326
of the wealthier families, of etched brass or pewter,
were brought in by trade from Russia or Iran many years
ago and inherited through the family. The tinsmiths
manufacture a bright, but poorly soldered, tea-urn of
sheet tin which is in great demand among the poorer
villagers. A villager carrying one of these home from 415

Rowanduz or Erbil is a proud sight along the road, and its 45
arrival an event of great joy in his household.

The shops of the cobblers are also to be found in 294
the bazar, and, like the carpenters and tinsmiths, they live 291
more by maintenance than by manufacture. A variety of footgear is worn in the area, including European boots, shoes, and women's sandals, and several local types of slippers. Some village men wear a simple moccasin of rawhide laced across the top of the foot with thongs, but the cobblers of Rowanduz have no hand in these, just as none would attempt the manufacture of a European shoe. One type made in the town, extremely popular with men of the lower classes, is a slipper with rubber soles (cut from an old automobile tire) and uppers of woven cord which have some elasticity. Otherwise, only some simple leather slippers and wooden clogs (kabkabs) are produced for women. One 443 [439]
shop is filled with European shoes of all styles, brought in from Baghdad or abroad, and almost all persons of the upper classes, government personnel and local population, affect these for outdoor wear. Most of the cobbler's work 296
is thus in repair, particularly on Fridays, for the soldiers from the barracks bring boots which, stout as they are, suffer considerably from the rocky terrain. The two town bootblacks are middle-aged men who wander among the shops and chaykhanas with their wooden polish-boxes, looking for [521]
customers and passing on gossip with considerable banter.

An important trade is that of the cloth-sellers or 443

bazaz of whom there are a relatively large number in the 443
bazar. Cloth is daily in great demand among both towns-
people and villagers, for very little manufactured clothing
is available or popular. The local weaving of coarse [294]
woolen cloth has already been noticed, but the product is [286]
used in the fabrication of men's jackets and trousers, and
neither its amount nor its quality would satisfy the de-
mands and taste of the district. The cloth-seller's shop 443
is characteristically a small booth with numerous rolls of 439
brightly coloured cotton and darker shaded woolen fabrics 286
piled against its walls. Much of this cloth is European
in origin, largely from the mills of Great Britain, India
and Japan, and is brought from Erbil. The purchase can
either be taken home, as is the case for most cloth des-
tined for women's garments, or carried to the tailor.

The tailors occupy small shops and their equipment 294
consists in a pedal-driven sewing machine, a flat-iron, a
tape measure, a pair of scissors, and little else. Al-
most all European-style clothing, such as that worn by [291]
government employees, is purchased in one of the larger
cities, Erbil, Mosul, or Baghdad. The tailor's work is
almost exclusively in men's garments in the Kurdish style,
jackets, trousers, and shirts, and a few other items in
linen or cotton, such as pajamas. The customer, having 294
purchased the material of his choice from the *bazar*, re- 437
pairs to a tailor with whom a contract is arranged, as
well as the amount of time necessary for completion. This

last point, as it is with builder, cobbler, or any other 294
workman, is important to establish, as it is almost never 437
realized and represents a point from which the skirmish of
arguments can legitimately be begun. A certain number of [443]
items, such as handkerchiefs, scarves, and stockings, are [292]
to be had from the general merchants, and these keep a few
manufactured European shirts and ties for the occasional
demand of the civil servant. Almost all of the clothing 294
of small children and women is made within the home, either 291
by the housewife herself or by one of several seamstresses
who find occasional employment among the houses of wealthier
people. A few items of men's clothing are completed in this
way, for example, the scarves rolled into men's turbans
have a fringe of threads extending about two inches beyond
the hem of the cloth, and custom requires that these threads
be rolled together and sewed to form thicker strands spaced
at about an inch apart along the edge of the scarf, a task
completed for a small consideration by one of the poorer
housewives. In spite of the fact that clothing is [435]
relatively inexpensive (a man's woolen jacket of the best
quality costs, for both material and tailoring, some three
dinars, the approximate equivalent of eight American dollars),
economy demands that it be used through a succession of
persons in the family until finally worn out, and a great
many garments, particularly those of children, have a
tattered appearance. Usage, however, demands that at 294
least the children of every house appear at the feast which 855
ends Ramadan, *Jazhni Ramazan*, in clean, new garments, and 796

tailors, seamstresses and mothers are busy during the days 294
preceding the celebration in their preparation, something 855
which resembles our own habit of appearing in new clothing 796
on Easter.

As in the case of seamstresses, a number of women 296
belonging to the poorer households find casual employment as laundresses to those who can afford the expense. There is no specific "wash day," just as there are no fixed periods in the home for changing clothing or linen. A laundress may be called whenever enough soiled clothing warrants her appearance. Almost every larger dwelling con- [352]
tains a tank or tub, usually submerged in the level of the [415]
court, for a multiplicity of purposes, among them washing
dishes, bathing infants, and laundry. For washing, coarse [388]
laundry soap obtained from the general merchants (no domestic soap is made) is used, or water alone. Such laundering involves pounding and wringing on the stones beside the tank, and garments washed too often in this fashion soon show signs of wear. In one's experience, a handkerchief, which had withstood perhaps two years of cleansing in the United States, rapidly deteriorated after two trips to the laundress in Rowandus, and it was similar with other items of apparel. Appreciative of this, laundry is not done by the townspeople with the regularity known in Northern Europe or America. Dry cleaning is unknown, and, to their chagrin, the woolen suits of the officials go into the tank with everything else. One such official, a Baghdadi by origin, possessed a suit with two pairs of trousers, one

of which he did not use and the other confided to a tailor to press and clean. [illegible] pair in use soon revealed the technique of the tailor's wife, scrubbing them with the other clothes. Pressing is little required by the townspeople, and the tailors, with their fire-heated irons, carry out this task. 296

There are three barbers with shops in the *bazar*, and one of them, Hajji Mustafa, *darwish* and town extrovert, will require later attention. The barber's shop is typically a booth, equipped with a few benches like those of the *chaykhanas* for clients in waiting and a plain wooden chair on which the customer is shaved or tonsured. That of Hajji Mustafa is gaudily decorated with a portrait of the founder of his order, Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani, photographs of actresses selected from Egyptian periodicals, and some other scraps of paper and notices. In addition, Hajji Mustafa's shop boasts a wooden board on which someone has painted "Modern Barber Shop" in Arabic, of interest not only because the "Modern" is a town joke, but because it is one of the few establishments in the *bazar* graced with a sign. The barber's tools, stored in a metal case, include hand-clippers, scissors, combs, a straight razor, some bits of soap, a mirror, and a bottle of cologne, all obtained through the general merchants. Often the barber is called to the home of a wealthier client, and this kit accompanies him. The barber's occupation is unprofitable, inasmuch as most persons shave themselves and hair-cutting 305 [532] [522] does not command a high price, but provides plenty of leisure and social intercourse. The barber, as in Europe or America, is a notorious channel of gossip, and, albeit poor, thinks of himself as a person of some importance in the community. 305 [521] [554]

Much miscellaneous transport is required for short distances by a town such as Rowanduz, for example, of building materials or firewood, and a number of men find employment as muleteers, furnishing their own beasts and working by contract. "Muleteer" is a misnomer, inasmuch as both mules and donkeys are in use, the latter animal even thought preferable by reason of its cheapness and docility. Little harness is used, and the secret of loading the beasts consists in dividing the load and balancing it across the back on the animal's flanks, tied up in bundles, as with wood, or stitched in twin burlap sacks. Brightly-coloured saddle-bags of heavy woven wool, not unlike rugs in texture, may be purchased, and many animals are caparisoned with tassels and other decorations. The muleteer keeps his animal near or within his house at night, and their departure from the *bazar* on a variety of commissions is a feature of early morning. 492

For longer distances and heavier loads, particularly the great quantity of material which comes from Erbil, the town has the use of two lorries. One belongs to a local entrepreneur, Hasan Bagal, who is also its driver, and who was in 1951 under contract to the government on road 494 [493] [498]

construction in the valley. The other is the property 494
[illegible] [1100]
are regularly used to transport merchandise from Erbil.
In addition, there is a bus service between the town and
the city with two decrepit British station wagons serving
as vehicles. When the first of these was put in service
some years ago, it was known as bus to the townspeople,
but when the second appeared it was personified as Baba Bus, [552]
"Father Bus," and the second, Kurri Bus, "Son of Bus."
These vehicles make the trip twice or three times each
week, departing from the square near the great mosque early
in the morning, their roofs piled high with luggage, and,
by the time Sheqlawa is reached, the interior crammed with
passengers. They are owned in Erbil, however, and their
drivers live in that city.

The garage is to be found across from the great 495
mosque, and consists of an enclosed courtyard. In a locked
storeroom opening on the yard there is a supply of gasoline
for sale in five-gallon tins. The garage is operated by 493
a merchant hired by Lali Khan, its owner, and her lorry is
usually parked in its courtyard. It should be noticed that
aside from those of the government and the two privately-
owned lorries, no other vehicles are permanently at the
town. Taxis, hired by chieftains or wealthy persons, arrive 494
frequently, but they are almost all derived from Erbil.
Sayyid Ahmad of Batas, one of the sons of the famous 574
Sheykh Taha, regularly arrived to visit the House of

Isma'il Beg in a taxi, accompanied by two or three heavily-armed bodyguards. 574

A comparatively large group of men in the town 464 are casually employed as laborers or porters. 482 It has already been noticed that a number work for the government on road repair, and others are called for a variety of situations, for example, by a mason who found himself short of help. Some are of higher social rank than their fellows, such as Anwar Saleh, the son of a "respectable" craftsman, who acted as a foreman over the roadworkers, and was probably hired not because of skill but because he commanded the respect of the workers and could thus effectively transmit the desires of the engineers. Aside from this, the occupations of laborer and porter are more or less interchangeable, and a number work in the bazar carrying goods for the merchants and craftsmen. 482 Among the upper class families of Iraq, 554 particularly those of Ottoman heritage, it is socially forbidden for an educated [183] man to carry anything of weight in public. Those who violate this prohibition are held to be either mad or, more importantly, not real gentlemen. Any government official who desires anything large moved from one place to another must have recourse to a servant or porter. 464 In addition to the professionals, adult men, the shopkeepers' 857 youngsters have been mentioned in employment with these 482 tasks, and any visitor of higher social standing to the bazar quickly finds himself accompanied by one or more.

because of the nature of this work, unemployment is 464
frequent for this group of workmen, both laborers and
porters, but they do not number more than forty or fifty
persons for the town as a whole.

An extensive group of persons, both men and women, 357
are employed in the town as servants, but it would be 464
difficult to arrive at any exact figure, inasmuch as this
group is always changing its numbers, almost from day to
day. The term "servant" itself seems to comprehend two
classifications, but they do not appear to have any precise
social differentiation, and are only hazily distinguished
in the popular mind. First, there are permanent [465]
servants who receive wages in addition to their keep and
who reside in the town throughout the year, either at the
houses of their employers or in dwellings of their own.
Most of these work in one way or another for the government,
a number in the government buildings, for example, the
qaimmaqam's doorman in the serai or the "janitor" in the
primary school, others for the army as orderlies and kitchen
help, and still others as household servants of government
and military personnel. The *qaimmaqam*'s household has three
attached to it, a female cook, the widowed sister of a
merchant, and two men. The men do a little gardening,
perform errands and other menial tasks, and serve male
visitors in the *diwankhana* or the garden. To such persons 357
as these a little of the scornful treatment of the pro- 554
fessional servants of the cities, such as Baghdad, has been

brought in by government officials and their wives, but 357
it is not obvious. Clapping the hands to summon a servant, 554
rarely encountered in a typical Kurdish household, or [201]
prohibiting them the use of the toilet facilities of the [514]
master are the two most pointed examples. However, servants
even in this category understand little of the servile
behavior associated with those of the city. "It is
comical," said an official. "My servant speaks to me like
an old friend, and often tells me what to do. When I try
to curse him for something, he argues with me and tells
me that *I* am the one who is wrong. On the other hand, he
never steals anything, and tells everyone in the neighborhood
what a great man I am."

The service of others is by no means strange or 357
uncommon in Kurdistan, but in the country the concept of 592
a servant is that of a family retainer, a person of the
second category and not a wage-earner or a menial, who [465]
receives food and lodging, and occasionally "gifts" of
money, and who, while in no sense a party to the realities
of inheritance or marriage, is to most purposes a member of
the family. Indeed, the exchange of kinship terms, such as [601]
khal, "uncle," or *pilk*, "aunt," with such a retainer is
commonplace, similar to our own "Uncle" Remus or "Aunt"
Mandy prior to the Civil War. Almost all of these people [464]
come from the villages, and their residence in Rowanduz
is only temporary, although it may be repeated again and
again. Many of the women have quarreled with their [593]

husbands, and welcome a respite of a few weeks. To give 357
an example, Shakir Effendi owns extensive village lands 592
and is well known to his tenants. Throughout the year [593]
persons, for a variety of reasons, appear at his house in Rowanduz to take service for a short time and then to return to their villages. Lali Khan always has ten or fifteen such retainers, many of them women. "It would be a grave mistake to call Lali Khan's people servants," one was told, "because it would bring the whole House of Isma'il Beg after one as an insult. You see that she dresses them up in fine clothing and covers the women with gold." Of such retainers, it remains to mention those who serve as bodyguards (gholam, from Arabic, "servant," sometimes shubana). Just as barbarian Germanic chieftains in ancient times had the practice of surrounding themselves with bands of warrior "companions," the Kurdish [622]
chieftain attracts a following, varying in size with his wealth and importance, who are accorded the same treatment as retainers, save that they are armed and usually exempted from menial tasks. They are typically young men, impatient [554]
with village life and desirous of the prestige that sur- [628]
rounds an armed guard, and form a formidable group, those who carry out the work and sustain most of the casualties of the vendetta. There are a dozen or so resident in Rowanduz. The House of Isma'il Beg has a number, that of Sadiq Agha and his brother As'ad Agha several, and Karim Agha, son of the imprisoned Nuri Bawil Agha, only one. Except in degree of permanence, there is no particular

line of division between these retainers and the professional servants spoken of first, and this explains why the officials and officers, to their annoyance and amusement, are treated more as the heads of Kurdish households rather than as employers. 357 592

If, of all these occupations of the townspeople, there is one which has greater importance, it is that of the merchants, for they, more than any others, in supplying the needs of the householders of both town and villages, in furnishing the necessary capital for larger transactions, in acting as the primary channels of commercial activity, make up the backbone of the town as a mercantile center. Of these, three general types have been listed, the itinerant trader (atar), the general merchant, and the wholesaler. The first group is the most numerous, and, in general, lacks the capital and resource of the second and third. The business of the atar is fairly simple. He applies to a merchant, usually a wholesaler, for a loan, and, if granted, receives it in goods or in money to be so converted. Equipped with wares, he departs from Rowandus for several weeks or a month in the villages, during which he sells his materials to the villagers. With the money thus realized, he may either return directly to Rowandus, or invest it in village produce, such as wool, skins, or poultry, which will bring further profit in the town. In any case, however, the profits of the itinerant traders are not excessive, for not only must they support themselves and their families, but assure the merchants of some return 443 [554] [426] on their investments. There are, of course, trips in which a handsome bounty can be acquired, and others when the atar is happy to break even. The origins of this class are somewhat varied, for some may be drawn directly from the villages, others are failures in another calling, and still others only follow the steps of their fathers. Similarly, the personnel changes over the years, because a few are fortunate enough to open permanent shops of their own, the fondest dream of the class, many return to their villages, and many take up another vocation.

Unlike the atar, the general merchants maintain permanent establishments in Rowanduz and are possessed of a certain amount of capital, in money, land, or merchandise. Their wares may be obtained from the wholesale merchants or brought in directly from Erbil. Their shops are typically packed from top to bottom with an incredible variety of manufactured goods, most of them imported from [439] Europe. A number of these, listed from a single shop, include:

amulets
buckles
buttons
candy
chocolate
cigarettes
cigarette-papers
cocoa
coffee cups
fountain pens
gasoline stoves
glasses
handerchiefs
jewelry
lighters
matches
metalware
neckties
needles
notebooks
orange syrup
paper
patent medicines
pencils
pins
pocket knives
rosaries
salt
shirts
shoe-polish
soap
stationery
stockings
sugar

tea
toothbrushes
toys
Turkish coffee 443
uniform caps
watches

On the other hand, the general merchant may buy up [438] a few items of village crafts to resell in his shop, and as much village produce of certain types, such as wool, skins, or flour, as he is able to market at a profit in Rowanduz or Erbil. Some general merchants, to be sure, live from the minor purchases of villagers and townspeople, but others do business in district import and export on a relatively large scale.

To this last group belong the wholesale merchants, 442 *bazargan*, who usually keep a general shop such as that described above, but who are also the real capitalists of the town, engaged in extensive operations of buying and selling in both Rowanduz and Erbil. They are the ones who furnish capital and supervision to the itinerant traders, and who supply other merchants and craftsmen in the town. In addition, they handle a large volume of miscellaneous commerce. "As'ad Effendi," a builder said, "when you are next in Erbil buy me a new saw and some hinges." "Hajji Ibrahim," said another, "my wife requires special cloth from Erbil for the wedding of our daughter." The wholesalers of Rowanduz are five in number, As'ad Effendi, Hajji Ibrahim, Hajji Muhammad Amin, Hajji Mustafa Shakir, and Sayyid Majjid, and it is interesting to note from the 788 title *hajji* or "pilgrim," not in use here as a proper [554] name, that three of the five have been able to make the

pilgrimage to Mecca, an expensive undertaking for the 788
people of Rowanduz.

A more precise idea of the actual sums involved may 443
be obtained from the example of a general merchant, Fatah- 434
Ullah, who, while not in the class of the wholesalers, is
wealthier than some of his fellow merchants, and most other
shopkeepers and craftsmen in the town. Fatah-Ullah keeps
a small general shop in the *bazar* from which he obtains
about 250 *fils* a day, and owns a house in which he rents [427]
two rooms, in 1951 to a police constable and a teacher, for
a total of 4 *dinars* a month. In addition he has a con- [265]
tract with the serai to furnish prisoners in its jail with
bread and stew, at about 60 *fils* for each head, and there
are always four or five prisoners on hand. Fatah-Ullah's [256]
wife bakes bread, which is peddled about the town by some
of his children, realizing about 200 *fils* every day.
His gross income for a year may be estimated as follows:

(1000 *fils* : 1 Iraqi *Dinar* : $2.80)

	Per diem	Per mensem	Per annum
Shop	250 *fils*	6.250 *dinars*	75.000 *dinars*
Rental	-	4.000 *dinars*	48.000 *dinars*
Contract	200 *fils*	5.000 *dinars*	60.000 *dinars*
Bread	200 *fils*	5.000 *dinars*	60.000 *dinars*
		20.250 *dinars* ($56.70)	243.000 *dinars* ($680.40)

Against this, Fatah-Ullah has a large number of expendi- 443
tures. He must, of course, purchase the merchandise for 511
his shop, and flour and vegetables for baking and the
prison contract. In addition, he must buy food and
clothing for himself and his family (he has seven

children, six girls and a boy), and various household 443
necessities, particularly firewood and kerosene. He also 511
has to pay taxes on his house and his shop, as well as [651]
maintain two children in school. Finally, there is a
variety of miscellaneous purchases, including gifts for
his wife, an animal for *Jayjani Ramazan*, tobacco for
cigarettes (his wife is an inveterate smoker), and benevolent collections. All things considered, Fatah-Ullah's
cash profit at the end of a typical year is not extensive,
perhaps ten or twenty *dinars*, and this sum is never invested nor is it used to expand his business, but is [454]
hoarded in cash and removed from circulation.

In completing this discussion of merchants, craftsmen, and laborers in Rowanduz, it is convenient to reserve 463 464
until later persons, such as the midwives, as well as a
number of others whose employment is only casual or in the
service of religion, for they have little real economic
significance in the community. Of those here treated,
some notes of their origins have been made, and their derivation from older families in the town, from the villages,
or from without the district itself, as in the case of
Shakir Effendi and the merchant Fatah-Ullah who moved in
years past from Sulaymaniya. It is important to realize
that all of these occupations, even those of the craftsmen,
are so simple that almost any man can try his hand at them
after the briefest of apprenticeships, and, indeed, the
occupational histories of a large number in the town are
extremely varied. There are no unions or guilds, and [467]

nothing that resembles a formal apprenticeship, nor does 463
there appear to be any pressure exerted against a man who 464
cares to attempt this or that employment. Occupations, it 467
is true, tend to remain within families, as has been seen
more particularly in the case of the masons, but it is far
from an exclusive rule. There is some hierarchy in trades, 554
and an unclearly defined distinction between callings which 463
are menial and those which are not. A successful kababchi
or meat-roaster might well become a merchant, but the
merchant's son would rarely become a kababchi. There is 166
also some exchange of persons between town and villages,
those seeking their fortunes in Rowanduz and those,
successful or unsuccessful, returning to the land, but
migration from the town itself outside the district is
very limited. This does not apply to the area as a
whole, and large numbers of the Kurdish people of northern
Iraq, both men and women, migrate from their villages to
the cities. The Kurdish hamal or porter in Baghdad, as [482]
well as the Kurdish prostitute, are well known. The permanent [548]
population of Rowanduz, however, with its core of
older families from the days before the first World War,
seems extremely stable.

It remains to notice those people who constitute 556
the wealthier class of townspeople, and who, although some 565
are merchants, need not engage in labor unless they so
choose. A large number of people possess minor amounts
of capital or smaller holdings, such as Fatah-Ullah, but

they do not exercise the influence, economic as well as 556
social, in the community of those of larger estates. With- 565
out exhausting the list of the "rich," the ten wealthiest persons in Rowanduz, together with the types of their property, are given here:

As'ad Effendi: 1 house, 1 shop, money
Hajji Ibrahim: 2 houses, 1 shop, money 421
Hajji Muhammad Amin: 2 houses, 1 shop, money 556
Hajji Mustafa Shakir: 1 house, money
Lali Khan: 7 villages (including Dyana), land, many houses, about 30 shops, money 565
Nuri Bawil Agha: 1 village, land, 1 house
Ra'uf Effendi: land, 6 houses
Sadiq Agha: 1 village, 1 house
Sayyid Majjid: 2 shops, 1 house, money
Shakir Effendi: 1 village, land, 1 house

"Money," of course, here represents cash capital, and a "village" includes not only houses, but agricultural lands. It would be difficult to form any estimate of the fortunes involved, because, among other reasons, a single large holding can have a greater value than a number of smaller plots totalling the same size. Similarly, a concentrated sum of money can be worth more in certain situations than its equivalent in agricultural lands, although most people in Iraq prefer to believe that this is not true. In any case, the holdings of such a person as Lali Khan, while they cannot compare with some of the immense estates of southern Iraq, represent many thousands of dinars. That these persons have their residence in Rowanduz adds to the importance of the town, quite apart from its role as a mercantile center, and many people in the town gain their livelihood wholly or in part from their service.

423 361 [727] Attention might be directed to the land of Rowanduz itself. Before the Russians burned the old town, the present site above the valley was occupied by only a few Ottoman buildings, summer residences, and gardens. Most of the choicest lands in the new town are owned by Lali Khan and Ra'uf Effendi whose families had titles from Ottoman times. In the lower priced lands of the modern upper town there is a variety of tenure, government (*amiriya*), private (*tapu*), and religious endowment (*waqf*), but the two most important owners are those mentioned here.

121 186 [123] [651] It is somewhat unfortunate, in treating the economics of the Rowanduz district and the position of its principal town within such a system, to be unable to present an exact quantitative analysis. In the absence of government statistics, and faced with the widespread distrust of the populace toward inquiries which might bear some relation to taxation, one must be satisfied with a generalized description of a primary nature. This need not be regarded as a deficit, inasmuch as the more important conclusions of this study have reference to social structure, an emphasis, however, which in no wise implies that the economic background is not critically germane to the discussion. It is therefore possible, in closing this section, to re-emphasize certain generalities which statistical information would not seem likely to modify in any serious fashion.

121 The size and importance of any town can be governed by a number of things, environmental, economic, social, or religious.

or religious. In Ottoman times, while it^ was an adminis- 000 175
trative center under Turkish rule, Rowanduz had considerable 439
importance because it lay astride the trade route between 487
Iran and Erbil, and from Erbil the Jazira plain and Syria,
and a great volume of caravan trade passed through its
gates. Today the automobile road constructed by British [491]
engineers bypasses the town and commerce following the old
direction need have no reference to the town itself. With
an obvious political background, the British mandate in [648]
Iraq and the withdrawal of Bolshevik Russia from Middle
Eastern affairs, much of this same trade has dwindled.
Prior to the first World War, a great part of the manufactured goods, like those of the general merchant listed
above and merchandised in Iranian Azerbaijan and northern
Iraq, came from Russia, porcelain, glassware, metalware,
cloth, samovars, kerosene, and the like, some of the more
precious items still preserved in Rowanduz households as
family heirlooms. With the British domination of the markets of Iraq, the focus of trade for this area has shifted
almost completely from the north to the south. One never
sees an item manufactured in the Soviet Union in the bazar
of Rowanduz. It may be supposed that the Turks selected
Rowanduz as a seat of government because of this importance
in trade, and the administrative demotion of the town
under Erbil, where formerly the two were equals, can be
taken as a reflection of commercial decline.

It has been seen that the only important produce of 241 438

^[i.e., the town of Rowanduz.—Analyst]

the district is derived from agriculture and animal hus- 438
bandry, and that the surplus production so obtained is [241]
marketed directly to Erbil or through a number of local
centers, of which Rowanduz has major importance. As a
channel of trade, however, between Erbil and the producers,
the town must also depend to a certain extent on a profit-
able commerce with the villagers, either through its
bazar or its itinerant traders. Here, too, volume has
fallen, and two reasons can be cited, the first of which
is the rise of Dyana. This village, the strongest mercan-
tile competitor of Rowanduz, arose on lands owned by Lali
Khan near a British rest-camp constructed during the second
World War and now abandoned. Dyana is now sought out, at [166]
the expense of Rowanduz, for a very cogent reason. It is [426]
customary for a villager to have a continuous debt,
usually five or ten *dinars*, with a merchant, paid off again
and again and just as often recontracted. Many villagers
now go to Dyana by reason of such a sum owed in Rowanduz,
not because they wish to escape payment, but to obtain a
desired respite and expansion of credit. Dyana is also
easier of access from the new main road than Rowanduz, and
this may contribute to its popularity. Whether or not the
villagers will sooner or later exhaust their credit in
Dyana and return to their old market is difficult to say.
Second, in Ottoman times there were thirty or forty 563
Jewish households in Rowanduz and they continued in these 167
numbers until the coming of the Israeli War in Palestine. 463
Most were skilled craftsmen and their departure for Israel,

although the Israeli is universally despised, brought a 167
decline in the variety and quality of craftsmanship in 563
Rowandus freely confessed and regretted by the townspeople. 463
A man who now wishes to purchase such things as gold [301]
jewelry for his wife must travel to Erbil.

It must be admitted that the strength of the town 177
as a center based on village trade is precarious, and much 621
of the commercial activity with importance in district 438
economy has been replaced by service to the government 493
personnel and the several wealthy landowners who reside within it. In brief, the economic realignments of the first World War have changed the bases of the size and importance of Rowandus. Once these were primarily commercial, and only secondarily political, while today a reversal of this position has taken place. The increased influence of the government, which is a matter of numbers, into everyday life has introduced into the town a new income without whose supplement Rowandus might have experienced certain decline.

CHAPTER IV

HOUSES, DRESS, AND DIET

The town of Rowanduz, aside from its government buildings and bazar, contains some 800 houses. The four mosques, and the club, the only remaining specialised constructions, will be discussed in later sections, and the house itself, with other material features of daily life, such as diet and clothing, may be treated here. The town has three general divisions, the first largely unoccupied, the second containing both shops and dwellings, and the third almost wholly residential. It would be incorrect to say that building has been completely without reference to any overall plan, for, although there has certainly been no conscious attempt to build according to any preconceived design, Rowanduz, with its specialised [366] bazar surrounding the principal mosque and its lanes of houses, some of them cut at right angles to the main thoroughfare, follows certain very generalized notions of the constitution of towns elsewhere. Any construction, [133] however, has been greatly conditioned by the land, because beneath the scanty topsoil there are hard, irregular crags of rock, and both houses and streets have out of necessity adapted themselves to their contours. There has been little attempt, particularly in the absence of any but the most burdensome means, to level or to build up the

irregularities of the slope, and the general process 361
has been one of building around or avoiding them. It might also be remembered that this is a new town, built up since the destruction of the old in the valley in 1917.

The streets and lanes are unpaved, their surfaces 363
the rough face of the rock, resembling in most cases a hard, cobblestone pavement. As many of them are precipitous, accidents, particularly at night, are not uncommon, and in the winter of 1950 two persons suffered broken limbs by losing their footing. There is a "main thoroughfare," a central artery of travel to which most lanes lead, corresponding in part to the street leading through the *bazar*. On reaching the top of the bluff by the steep, winding automobile road from the valley, two streets branch out around the serai and join together just before the *bazar* to form the principal street and center. Where the *bazar* merges with the upper residential section, two lanes, more important than others, divide to skirt the hill which dominates this upper area and join again above the town.
Along the streets, the open spaces between the houses 351
are often lined with fences, either of rubble or of inter- 361
woven branches, usually enclosing a garden. The lots left vacant are either barren soil, such as the "brickyard"
noticed above, or covered with tough, long grass and scrub [137]
vegetation. A number of trees grow unattended along the edges of the cliffs, but almost all others are confined to the gardens and yards of private dwellings.

There is no electricity in Rowanduz, although it is connected with telegraph and telephone wires, and lighting is by fuel, gasoline, kerosene, or oil. After nightfall the streets are completely dark, save for a few shops or *chaikhanas* open late and a rare door-lantern burning for visitors, and it is customary for those walking at night to be preceded by a servant with a lantern, or to carry a light themselves. 373 [377] [206] [481]

Water is derived from a spring above the town, that which turns the mill *Ashi Sheikhi*, and flows down through the streets in small channels and pipes, frequently bridged or covered with flagstones. British engineers laid pipes connecting a series of three iron pumps to better utilize this water, but the pumps have long ceased to flow and are jokingly attributed by the better educated, such as the teachers, to Harun al-Rashid, the Abbasid caliph to whom a great number of ruined bridges and fortresses are referred by the villagers. In shallow ditches the water follows several routes through the town, sometimes in the open and sometimes through pipes, those of the British and a few segments laid by the townspeople themselves. Most of the larger houses have an interior tank or basin, and pipes, closed during most of the day, lead in from the ditches to these. The Kurds of this area, unlike some of their contemporaries in the Middle East, have definite ideas on what constitutes "clean" water, that which is cold and clear, although they may have no appreciation of its relative purity. Rashid Agha of Jindian, whose father's 312 365 [522] [173] 271 312 365 house has a fresh mountain spring running through it, vigorously refused to drink the water of Rowanduz, asserting it was "dirty" and made him ill. Because many of the channels are open, numerous things can get in the water, to name a few, dogs, chickens, infants, and refuse, as it courses downward, and the townspeople are cognizant of the fact. In the larger households the interior basins and water jars are filled just before daybreak when the water, after a night of running, is thought to be purer, and the women of poorer homes carry their water at the same time. "The higher in the town, the better the water," it is said, although this in no way seems to operate to condition the price of land. 291 312 365

The houses of the poorer townspeople are to be found clustered on the cheaper land of the residential upper town. While some are two-storey apartment buildings housing several families, the characteristic form is a small, rectangular mud-brick building of a single room with a rolled mud roof. The floor is of earth, the walls and ceiling unfinished, and the windows, if there are any, small, open loopholes in the walls. In lieu of a wooden door, a hanging of coarse cloth or blanketing may be used in winter. Cooking surrounds an earthen fire-pit in one corner, or, in fair weather, has a place just outside the door, but the diet of the poor does not require complex preparation. The furnishings of these homes are the meagerest: a few mats, a collection of tattered blankets and quilts from which the beds are made on the floor, a 361 342 [354] [252] 352 573

cradle (a more or less perennial necessity for this class), 592 591
and several cooking utensils and containers. Accommodations 362
of this type[1] are simple, but not unpleasant, albeit devoid of lighting, toilet facilities, and the like, and, because the climate is moderate, lack the fetid atmosphere which so often characterizes similar housing to the south.

It is possible, however, to pay more detailed atten- 342
tion to the homes of wealthier persons, merchants and land- 361
owners, for they illustrate in greater variety the domestic life of the town. In these cases, houses of a number of rooms, there is almost always some attempt to realize an interior courtyard. In a number, this is only an area to the rear surrounded by a fence, in others, a yard flanked on three sides by the building with the fourth left open, and in the great houses, such as those of Lali Khan or Ra'uf Effendi, a "true" courtyard with the apartments of the house and high brick walls on all sides. These courtyards are flagged with flat stones or surfaced with hardened earth, and contain a rectangular basin or tank, [342]
either sunk into the ground itself or built up above it, watered by a pipe from an external supply. The walls of 342
such houses, of mud-brick or stone, are finished with a layer of plastered mud on the outside and with the same material or real plaster within, and may be painted with a white, yellow, or light blue wash. The outer walls are usually extremely thick, two or three feet, and the outside windows of the first storey consist only of small, unglazed loopholes high above the ground. Because of

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[1] [i.e., households of the poorer [illegible], —Analyst]

the summer heat, these rooms have a height which seems ab- 342
normal to European or American eyes, about ten or twelve
feet, and the rooms of the first storey are additionally
raised on a platform of earth one or two feet above the
level of the courtyard. The windows facing inward and those
of the second storey are larger, and may boast glass in
wooden frames brought from Erbil. The ceilings consist
of bundles of poles and twigs, and are mostly left un-
finished, although a few have been plastered and pasted
with newspaper. The floors and the roof are of mud mixed
with chaff laid down in a number of layers. Before [356]
cleaning a room, it is customary to wet the floor down by
copious sprinkling, and sweeping usually carries off a
little of the floor. The roofs are equipped with long, [413]
smooth, cylindrical stones, four to six inches in diameter
and about a foot in length, used to roll the mud of the
roof after rain or snow. With a few exceptions, most of
these homes are of two storeys, and, although there is
considerable variation in the assignment of rooms, of
which six or seven constitute a minimum number, and in
the plan itself, the adherence to a courtyard design is
marked. In addition, there is an obvious attempt to orient
the house and its windows so that household life, specifi-
cally that of the women, is hidden from passers-by on the
street and people of neighboring buildings. Lacking a [357]
"true" courtyard shielded on all sides, the deficiencies
are amended with high, impenetrable fences of interlaced
twigs and foliage. In the absence of archaeological [174]

information, it would be difficult to assign such a 342
house plan to any definite cultural horizon, but the [174]
architectural attempt to conceal the women is clearly [562]
Islamic, and, while it had its initial expansion under [177]
the Arabic caliphates, probably had its greatest influence
in Kurdistan under the Turks when such things were carried
to an extreme, at the same time reinforced by the prestige
of a ruling class, in most parts of the Ottoman Empire.

The entrance of the house requires special attention, for certain important customs surround it. The
doors are of heavy timbers, swinging on iron hinges, and,
lacking a metal lock, are bolted at night with a heavy
wooden bar which is kept in place by a second piece above
it on a pivot. The outer doorway may have a fuel lamp for [373]
night and in many cases is furnished with charms designed
to ward off the evil eye, a belief which will be discussed [754]
[777]
in a later section. These are characteristically [751]
a blue porcelain plate, embedded in the mud wall-surfacing,
or a pair of old shoes hung on a nail. The popular reasoning behind the second device is that it indicates to a
person with the eye that "your malevolent glance is as
powerful as our pair of old shoes," an explanation that
probably has little to do with the origin of the custom.
Whenever the construction of a house is completed, the new 342
owner sacrifices an animal, a sheep or a goat, by cutting 792
the throat before the door and smears some of the blood
on the doorposts and the threshhold. Often he dips his [751]
hand in the blood, and applies it to the door, making by [771]

its imprint the so-called "Hand of Fatima" (referred, 342
almost certainly *ex post facto*, to the daughter of the 782
Prophet), a symbol found in almost all parts of the [777]
Middle East, particularly in amulet jewelry. The same [751]
sacrifice is applied to new additions to the house, and,
in case a new storey has been built, the throat of the
animal is slit over a window sill. It will be seen that [585]
when a bride enters her new home, an animal is similarly
slaughtered before the threshhold and the maiden's sandal
is dipped in its blood. It is an incredible breach of 574
etiquette, if not criminal, to enter a house without
announcing oneself, a usage which is supposed to have an
origin in the life of the Prophet, and custom demands that
the visitor knock and wait outside until ushered in. The
door is usually left ajar during the day, but anyone save
members of the immediate family are prohibited from entrance until permission is given.

Water flows past the houses in narrow ditches beside 312
the streets, and is conducted to an interior basin by means 271
of a pipe. Every larger house has somewhere, typically in 415
the vestibule of the front door, a huge earthen jar for
drinking water with a capacity of twenty or thirty gallons
which is filled whenever necessary. This jar, held a few
feet off the ground in an iron or wooden frame, has a
porous bottom through which the liquid is filtered,
dripping slowly into a second receptacle beneath it, and,
by reason of evaporation, the filtered water is cooled to

some extent. For immediate use, water is dipped into 312
one of a number of quart jugs, an unfired cream-coloured 415
vessel with a wide body, a long narrow neck, and a flaring 271
mouth, turned on the wheel and imported commercially from
Mosul. For further cleansing, a piece of cheesecloth is
often tied over the mouth of these jugs. Glass tumblers
are used to serve water, and, if it is offered to a number
of guests, it is necessary that the glass be cleaned after
each person has used it. This is done by pouring out a
little from the jug, circulating it in the glass, and
tossing it on the earthen floor or into the courtyard. The 312
water in the basin is not used for drinking, but for a
variety of other purposes, washing cooking utensils and
dishes, bathing infants, laundry, and so on.

It is interesting that the public bath, the *hammam*, 515
so much a feature of life in Medieval and Ottoman times, [178]
has largely disappeared in modern Kurdistan.[1] Bathing in
Rowanduz is confined to private homes, and there is no
place in the town, including the *khan* or hotel, where a
person might obtain bathing facilities for a price. The
larger houses contain a closet or a small room for this
purpose, and the bather is furnished with a bucket or jar
of water which he pours over himself with a dipper of some
sort, usually a tin can. Waste runs out through a drain
in the floor. Toilet facilities are also to be found in 514

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[1] Mazaheri, 1951, p. 175.

a closet or booth, usually on the first floor of the 514
house, with a door, as in the case of the bath, of wooden
planks or a cloth hanging. This booth contains little
more than a slit trench, perpendicular to the entrance,
leading down into the foundations of the house and
ultimately outside, and a metal ewer, a long-necked [415]
vessel with a capacity of about a pint, containing water.
The left hand is used for cleansing, and, while never so [515] 826
stringently abhorred as among certain Arab groups, it is 576
considered impolite to use it in formal dining, save in
tearing apart food, although everyday practice admits
considerable latitude.

Interior lighting is furnished by fuel lamps. Before 354
the first World War, a kerosene lantern, described
as "Hungarian," was in use, imported together with its fuel [439]
from Russia through Iran. Since that time, a new and
brighter type of lamp, making use of gasoline put under
pressure by an attached pneumatic pumping device, has come
into use in the wealthier homes. In a number of the
poorer houses a small, simple oil lamp, which provides only
a feeble glow, is utilized as an occasional night light.
Save during Ramadan, when one or two meals are taken during
the evening, most of the houses are completely darkened
soon after nightfall. Heating during winter does not
receive systematic attention, although the wealthy make
use of kerosene stoves. The general remedy is to don [291]
additional clothing. The larger houses have a woodpile, [372]

faggots supplied by the villagers, in their courtyard, 354
but they are used as fuel for the kitchen rather than to 372
obtain household warmth, and incidentally serve at night [231]
as roosts for the chickens.

Of the rooms of the house, those used for sleeping 353
might be considered first, which also serve as apartments 352
for the women, although there is nothing approaching the 513
Ottoman notion of a *harim* with its guarded entrance and
separate domestic facilities. These sleeping rooms have
rectangular niches, several feet off the floor, cut into
the outer walls whose thickness can accommodate them,
which house the brightly-painted chests containing the
clothing and goods of the house. A few niches may hold
trinkets, mirrors, photographs, and the like. A number of 352
the households have wooden or iron bedsteads in the 513
European style, the latter imported from Erbil, but the
greater part use wool or cotton mattresses spread directly
on the floor with a bed of blankets and quilts made up on
them. A variety of pillows and bolsters are in use, not
only in these rooms, but elsewhere in the home. During the
day the mattresses and their coverings are rolled up against
the walls and serve as couches for those occupying the room.
They may be unrolled after the noon meal for the short rest
taken by many at this time. The floor itself is covered 352
with mats, products of southern Iraq, or carpets, some of
the latter beautiful examples of Iranian weaving. Other
furniture, chairs or stools, is not uncommon, but is also

not invariable. The water-jug, with a glass tumbler 352
turned down over its mouth, always stands beside the [415] [271]
door.

During the heat of summer, almost all of the 513
families of the town, rich and poor alike, sleep on their
roofs, and the bedsteads and bedding are moved there for a
time. Again, because of the necessity of sheltering the [351]
women from the gaze of outsiders, windbreaks of oak branches
and brush are built up if the house itself does not afford
suitable protection. Mosquito netting, the same material 352 513
used in some of the garments of a bride and obtained from
the cloth-sellers, is not used indoors, except to cover an [854]
infant's cradle, but is many times placed over the beds on
the roof. In the wealthier homes everyone has an individual
bed, while in those poorer the children sleep together in a
tangle of blankets and quilts. Where a house contains more
than a single couple, there is a necessary division of its
sleeping quarters, because two couples do not customarily
rest in the same room nor should a couple occupy one with
a male relative, an uncle or a brother. As a general rule,
it might be stated that a woman never sleeps in the same
room with any man other than her father, her brothers, her
husband, and her sons. On the other hand, there seems to 833 864
be little effort made to conceal sexual intercourse from
the children, who, however, are either too sleepy or too
well aware of it to find it of much interest.

The diwankhana or guest-room is mandatory for anyone 353 574
of social pretension and is found in most cases on the first

floor, although that of Lali Khan is located in a second storey. This room, better decorated and maintained than others, is used for the entertainment of male visitors to the house and a rare family gathering. Its furniture may consist of benches and chairs, or, in the older style, covered mattresses on the floor on which the guests sit cross-legged. The floors are usually covered with carpets, the best the house can afford, and decorations may include a few photographs, and, in their season, bowls of flowers. A number of prized possessions, such as a set of glass tumblers or a clock are on display. Photographs, taken on special occasions over the years, are kept with great care and displayed to visitors with pride, particularly if the owner has been portrayed with one or more notables, officials or chieftains. Several families have old box cameras and some film is available with the general merchants, but developing and printing must be done in Erbil. In lieu of banquets, not regularly held, visitors are served a variety of things one after the other of which the staples are tea, coffee, or sherbet. That coffee is not served in the chaykhanas has been noticed, but it appears, as well as hot chocolate (prepared, however, in the same way as coffee, with water rather than milk), with some frequency in the guest-rooms. These refreshments are brought in rapid succession. In the *divankhana* of Lali Khan tea, water, coffee, fresh grape juice, more tea, and sherbet, as well as apricots and mulberries, were served in a matter of about fifteen minutes.

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[574]
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fifteen minutes. Refreshments are prepared by the women 574
and are carried in by a male servant or one of the children.
A young woman, either of the family or a servant, never enters [576]
the guest-room, particularly in the presence of a plurality [562]
of male guests, but older women, if the mistresses of the [888]
house and of aristocratic lineage, may enter and chat with
the visitors. The investigator was entertained by Lali Khan [123]
and Bayin Amina, the Turkish wife of Shakir Effendi, both
unveiled and neither of European education or inclination.
Visiting women, almost always married and related in some
way to the house, are entertained in the sleeping rooms or
in the courtyard at large, for some confusion might obtain
in the diwankhana if the house-owner and a male guest should
suddenly appear. Finally, this room is infrequently used
for mixed family gatherings, say, the visit of an uncle,
in which men, women, and children take part.

In this connection it is convenient to mention the 351
gardens, because, wholly aside from whatever productive [574]
value they might possess, they are used, just as the guest-room, for the reception of visitors in summer. It is the desire of every householder, as an American might plan a study, a recreation room, or, indeed, the same thing, to have one on his property. A "garden" need not refer to beds of flowers or vegetables, but rather to a secluded, grassy plot shaded by trees, and the intense romantic attachment of the Kurd, or of almost anyone in the Middle East, to these places is defined with difficulty, a sentiment by no means confined to the intellectual or the wealthy,

ut found just as strongly in the illiterate Sa'idi peasant 351
f contemporary Egypt as in a Medieval Persian poet. In
owanduz all of the wealthier homes have their gardens,
urrounded by high fences, with a number of trees, willows
nd those bearing fruit, for shade, and, if there are
ervants to cultivate them, some plots of vegetables off [244]
to one side. In summer it is customary to set out a number
of wooden benches and chairs, and guests can be enter- [352]
tained with the addition of freshly-picked fruits to the [574]
usual beverages. By popular admission, the most spectacular
garden near Rowanduz is that of Hajji Muhammad 'Ali Agha of
Jindian, whose house is built over the course of an icy
ountain spring. This stream flows in a masonry channel
through the plot itself. The agha boasts fruits chilled
in the water and the pleasant sound of the swiftly running
brook together with the usual shade trees, carpets, and
benches. Gardens are seasonally used to a much greater
extent by the family as a whole than the guest-room, and [857]
children of the house, in addition to playing there, are
held responsible for keeping birds and stray goats from
the ripening fruits and vegetables. It follows that the
youngsters, as might be expected, make much greater in-
roads on the produce than those they are set to guard
against.

Aside from a few rooms devoted to storage, as of 354
firewood, it remains to take account of the kitchen, al- 342
ways to be found on the first floor and more or less open
to the courtyard, inasmuch as chimneys are unknown or

unused in the town. Cooking, particularly of grilled 342
meats, can produce a great quantity of smoke, and even 354
in the houses of the wealthy certain recipes are prepared in the yard. The kitchen itself is typically a bare room containing as permanent fixtures the large, beehive oven and a fire-pit or hearth beside it. As will be 354
appreciated from the description of the diet, the type of 252
fire employed, of which there are several, depends upon the dish. The oven is used for baking, the fire-pit for heating larger vessels, the charcoal brazier for broiling, and the brass kerosene burner, one of the most widespread intrusions into Kurdish life in recent decades, for a large number of smaller tasks. These last, manufactured in [439]
Sweden or Germany and purchased from the merchants, are diminutive stoves, the legs of which support the fuel tank, bending above it over the burner to form a platform, and use kerosene under mechanically induced pressure, as in the gasoline lamps. Boiling water, warming food, preparing tea or coffee, and a dozen other lesser jobs are accomplished with these devices, and even the poorer townspeople boast of their possession. There is a heterogeneous 415
collection of metal cooking utensils, ranging from the wide, flat-bottomed tub in which dough is kneaded to tin bowls and cups. Niches in the walls are used for their storage, as well as the dishes in everyday use, those not too prized to be guarded among the treasures of the wife or displayed in the guest-room. Imperishable food, flour, sugar, tea, 251
and the like, is kept in containers in the kitchen or a

storeroom, although sometimes locked in a cupboard or 251
chest by a watchful mistress.

By far the greater part of domestic tasks are performed 462
by the women, preparation of food, minding the infants, 356
and maintenance of the house, to some extent
alleviated by the help of older children or of servants. [857]
Because most of the children's and women's clothing is made [294]
at home, the housewife, if she is not herself an expert
at sewing, must supervise the work of the seamstresses,
and in many establishments a certain amount of embroidery
is also made. There is no regular program for laundry [296]
and cleaning, and these are done whenever the mistress
feels it is necessary. In general, the woman has a free
hand in the management of her home and receives an allowanse
from her husband, not at appointed times, but whenever
the last sum has been exhausted, for its upkeep. While it
would not be considered particularly shameful, a man takes
little or no part in any domestic tasks, save the heaviest
work, because they have been simply established as the
"work of women" and followed by girls from their childhood.
A man, for example, who earns his livelihood making tea in
a chaykhana does not perform the same job in his home.
Servants attend to the menial parts of housekeeping and 357
are under the orders of both the owner and his wife, although
the latter takes a much greater share of their
direction. Certain items of food can be obtained at the 443
door of the house, while others are purchased in the bazar 556

by servants or children entrusted with money. Poorer 443
women do their own marketing, and the prices of food are 556
well known to the wealthy because they are a well-
established topic of conversation. The wives of wealthier
houses make only rare appearances in the *bazar*, usually to
make a major purchase, such as cloth for a dress, which
requires their personal supervision.

The townspeople have three meals each day, the first 264
between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, the second
at noon (although it may be postponed one or two hours for
officials), and the third between six and seven in the
evening. For the poorer classes, the diet is largely built 262
around bread, dairy produce, dates, and tea, with meat and
vegetables only once or twice each week. For the wealthier,
breakfast consists of bread and tea, with a choice of cheese,
butter, or eggs. A typical luncheon includes *dolma*
(vegetable stuffed with meat and rice), a selection of
fruits in summer and dates in winter, bread, *mast* (artificially
curdled milk), and tea. The midday meal is the most important
of the three, and supper usually consists of the
remains of the luncheon with the addition of cheese and the
usual bread and tea. The food can be seasoned with salt and [263]
a strong pepper obtained from the merchants, or flavored
with garlic and a few aromatic herbs to be had locally.
Dates, a staple for the poor and the winter diet of all,
are imported from southern Iraq pressed in large blocks.
In spite of these general observations, the fare of the
wealthy has considerable variety, as a brief, but more

detailed, examination will show. 262

Meat is used in the larger household almost every 262
day. Beef is rare, as is the *birryani*, a whole roasted lamb 252
stuffed with rice, almonds, raisins, and spices, only
appearing on the occasion of great feasts, such as the [585]
marriage of a chieftain's daughter. On the other hand,
smaller quantities of lamb, mutton, or goat-meat, charcoal broiled on iron skewers (*kabab*, if diced, and *tika*, if whole pieces of flesh and fat), are everyday favorites. The same type of meat is also prepared as a stew with the addition of vegetables, and, diced and mixed with rice, used to stuff cucumbers, grape leaves, marrow, and tomatoes which are baked. Chicken and *chikaw*, the mountain partridge, are generally boiled, and the broth is served as a soup. Eggs are either fried in oil or boiled. Most of this cooking is accompanied with a great quantity of *gi*, clarified butter or vegetable oil, although in summer the townspeople try to avoid greasy foods.

Bread and rice have great importance, some of the latter produced locally, but the better grades imported from Iran. Rice must first be washed to remove dirt and pebbles, while a strong fire is built in the earthen cooking pit. A metal pot is placed over the flames and a quantity of oil and water are added. When this mixture boils, the rice is poured in and the whole is left until most of the liquid has boiled off. When this point is reached, the larger pieces of firewood are removed, and the pot is allowed to

cook slowly on the coals for some length of time. Often 252
the rice is coloured with tomato juice. It is served 262
accompanied by smaller dishes of meat, gravy, and vegetables, or has been mixed with these ingredients in the kitchen. On occasion tiny threads of dough, fried in oil, are mingled with the rice before it is cooked. Both wheat and rice flour are used in a number of sweets, and one of them, [263] paqlawa, will provide an example. This is made by preparing a dough of flour, sugar, and ground almonds or walnuts. The dough is rolled into sheets which are superimposed on each other and baked crisp in oil. The resulting pastry, consisting of many thin layers, is soaked with a thick sugar syrup and cut into segments. Rice flour [253] and sugar, moistened with milk, are used as a food for infants.

Dairy products, particularly cheese and curdled milk, have an important place in the lesser meals. The cheese, [234] brought in by the villagers, is white in colour and made from goat milk. An interesting and widely-used seasonal dish, dandog, is prepared in the winter by boiling grain and curdled milk together, drying them in a cloth, adding oil, and beating the mixture. Vegetables, as previously seen, include some variety, and, if cooked, are generally boiled. Salads are favored in the summer, and a typical recipe consists of sliced cucumbers, onions, and tomatoes flavored with vinegar or sour pomegranate juice. Curdled milk is often used to mix with fresh vegetables, or is

served alone and the diner can dip slices of cucumber in 252
the dish. Fruits appear only in their seasons, for there 262
are no means of preserving them, and have little other [251]
preparation than sprinkling in cold water. Apples baked
with sugar, shiwei sayaw, are considered a delicacy.

Of the beverages, tea is prepared in the home three 272
times each day, and is either brewed in a samovar or, more [415]
simply, boiled in an open pot. Its service, in small
glasses partially filled with sugar, has been noted. There
are several ways of treating tea, and one example is that
in which a tiny piece of crystallized lemon, limun dusi, [263]
is placed in the glass, giving the liquid a citrus flavor.
Coffee or hot chocolate are not made regularly in the [574]
household, and are reserved for guests. The coffee, of
the pulverized "Turkish" variety, is mixed with boiling [263]
water, in which a cardamon seed may have been placed for
aromatic taste, in the measure of one teaspoon of coffee
and one of sugar for each cup desired, and is served in
small demi-tasses as a thick, granular syrup. Sherbet
consists of a spoonful or two of fruit extract, although
some of it is said to be derived from flowers, mixed in a
tumbler with water and mountain snow. Fresh grape juice is
also found in the summer. Mastaw, curdled milk thinned with [853]
water, is drunk throughout the year, but plain milk, save
in the case of infants whose mothers are unable to feed
them, has very little use, perhaps from fear of undulant
fever.

The diet of the civil officials and their families 262

differs little from that of the townspeople, but it is 262
necessary to mention the drinking parties of the men. The 273
Kurds of this area are not fond of alcoholic beverages, although a few of the chieftains have experimented with them, and it can almost be stated categorically that no person native to Rowanduz makes use of them. A "secret sinner" (the use of intoxicants is forbidden in the Quran) would have a difficult time, for his wife would be sure to find him out and carry the tale to kinsmen, but there seems to be little desire, even among the young men and other persons disgruntled with the unchanging tempo of country life. Beyin Amine, the wife of Shakir Effendi, was married from an Ottoman family in an area of Turkey where drinking, separately, to be sure, of groups of men and women of the upper class was commonplace. She regretted, not the deficit of potables, but the cheerful woman's parties of her youth. With the officials and army officers [70]
it is quite otherwise, for many come from the great cities, or have had their training there, where inebriation is a standard form of entertainment. Some of the officers prefer beer, perhaps on the analogy of British officers, but the most popular is arrack (omnipresent in the Eastern Mediterranean: *ouzo* in Greece, *raki* in Turkey, *zibib* in Egypt, and *ʿaraq* in Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq), a distillate of fermented grapes or dates flavoured with anise or *mastika*, gum arabic, and of great potency. It is poured in small amounts into tumblers and water is added, which, if the

flavoring is anise, causes the liquid to become milky 273
in colour. A necessary accompaniment is the maza (from
a Greek word, universal with the liquor) which consists of [262] [264]
a large variety of small dishes to be eaten while drinking,
ranging from nuts and cucumbers to cold chicken and grilled
meat. The red wine of the Nestorians is not used by the
officials and officers. Most of them, as a concession to [785]
Islam, forswear intoxicants during Ramadan, but the
remaining months of the year offer no such obstacle. These [525]
gatherings, of which gambling is the prominent diversion,
will be met again.

In the household the service of food depends for 264
its character on whether or not guests are present. If
members of the family are alone, they eat together, men,
women and children, seated on the floor, or, in a few
cases, at a table. The place of eating varies somewhat,
and can be the kitchen itself, a neighboring sleeping-
room, the diwankhana, or the courtyard. The food is [415]
served in large dishes by the women and these are placed
in the center of the gathering. Often silverware and
plates are used, and otherwise, only the fingers and a
piece of bread. There appears to be little correspondence
with social status among the wealthy in this matter,
although the poor always eat with their hands. The head
of the house takes the first bite, saying as he does so, [782]
Bismillah, "In the name of God," and others follow him.
The servants have their meal after the family is finished.
In a family gathering of a larger size, in which men and [574]

women are still intermingled, the party splits into two 264
parts, one surrounding the father and the other, his wife. 574
When there are male guests formally invited, the women are withdrawn from sight and the food is served in a grand array in the guest-room by male servants or children.
The usual practice is for the guests to eat quickly, 264
standing around a table in the *diwankhana* or a room neighbor- 516
ing the kitchen. It may be supposed that the older usage of sitting on the floor and taking greater leisure with the meal, still to be found, was once more widespread. In this connection, one might note that squatting on the haunches is used only by the lower classes, while sitting in a chair or cross-legged on the floor is customary for those of higher social status. As elsewhere in the Islamic world, to sit with legs outstretched in front of one is considered the height of boorishness. The etiquette of dining, although far less detailed, is not greatly different from our own, and it is considered impolite to eat too voraciously, to serve oneself an outsize portion, to belch, and the like.

The native dress of the Kurds is extremely colourful, 291
in contrast to that of many of their contemporaries in the Middle East, and they make greater use of brighter hues and strong contrasts than the subdued tones and darker shades encountered elsewhere. In discussing this subject, three types of clothing, often intermingled in the same costume, can be distinguished, that which is typically Kurdish, that which is Arabic, specifically from southern

Iraq, and that which is European. It need not be thought that the Kurdish element is something wholly unique, for there is an abundance of evidence, for example, almost any Persian miniature painting, to indicate that colourful dyes, if not the styles themselves, had a greater province in centuries gone by than are in evidence today, a change bound up in the impoverishment of the area and coupled with the impact of European civilization. 291 [178]

Turning first to the Kurdish townsmen of Rowanduz, dressed in native clothing, the basic undergarment is a pair of baggy, white cotton drawers, bound at the waist by a draw-string, which fall a few inches below the knees. A cotton undershirt may or may not be worn, but the other mandatory item is a white cotton shirt without a collar, closed at the neck by a series of round cloth buttons. The salient characteristic of this shirt is its sleeve which extends almost a foot beyond the wrist and is split to the elbow. When a jacket is worn, this long end is turned back and tied around the forearm, just below the elbow. For washing, or for fighting, the two ends are tied together behind the neck, drawing up the sleeves of both shirt and jacket above the elbows. A sleeveless vest, of European style and fastened with a number of buttons, is often worn over the shirt. Its fabric is either identical with the jacket or of striped cotton, but it is not exposed to view in outdoor attire. [515] [579]

The outer garments consist of trousers and jacket,

both of which are worn in Rowanduz with no apparent regard 291
to their several regional styles. The trousers are full, usually gathered at the waist with a cord, and may have wide bell-bottoms, the mode of the district, or be narrowed slightly at the ankle, the general Kurdish type. In no case are these tightly bound about the calf, as in the Turkish *shirwal* still seen in Syria and Egypt. The jacket, tucked in the trousers, has two forms, of which the first is collarless, although its edges have a wide embroidered border, and is single-breasted, one side folded slightly over the other without fasteners. The second is in the style of a double-breasted military tunic of the last century, with a collar about an inch high of stitched thicknesses of material, flaring lapels, parallel rows of buttons on the front, and two pleated pockets with pointed flaps. These outer garments need not be of the same colour. For a time Rashid agha of Jindian, one of many examples, wore a jacket of white and trousers of dark blue. The materials are either European or local fabrics, and the [204]
tailoring is professional, although the embroidery is done [463]
in the homes by the women, some of it in intricately-executed bands along the seams and the hems. A typical suit consists of both trousers and jacket in the same colour, made of squares of locally woven wool cloth, light tan or blue, stitched and embroidered with thread of the same hue.

The type of footgear for men has been indicated above, low-cut European shoes or the woven sandals with rubber soles. Stockings are by no means thought necessary, although the villagers almost always appear in a coarse domestic product which is worn according to the taste and resources of the individual concerned. It is commonplace for poorer men of the town to go without, but this is not confined to the class. The waist is bound with a sash, a rolled strip of material one or two feet in width, and perhaps four or five yards in length. The cloth itself is often a flowered cotton print, a typical example showing red blossoms outlined in white on a black background, and is tied by holding loosely in front of the torso a foot or two of one end of the goods around which, tautly circling and recircling the waist, the longer part is entwined in a series of loops until the cloth is exhausted and the ends may be tucked under the resulting girdle. This sash is used to carry a number of items, money, cigarettes, and the like, inasmuch as the only other pockets usually found in the costume are in the vest or the military-type jacket. A leather belt is often buckled over it, particularly when weapons are carried. 291 [482]

The headdress is composed of an embroidered skullcap and two rolled scarves bound about it to form a turban. Although the embroidered cap, known throughout Iraq, was present in the town in Ottoman times, the older type was of felt and peaked, with a tassel ornamenting the top. This has now disappeared, replaced by the round embroidered form, manufactured commercially outside the area. The scarves are also imports, but their fringes must be prepared by local seamstresses. Folded diagonally and rolled, the scarves are bound around the head one next to the other, and one or more of the ends usually hang down to the shoulders. The cap is of white crocheted cloth and decorated with simple patterns in variously coloured thread, sometimes of gilt or silver. The scarves are characteristically an open black and white print, the same as used in the chafiya or head-cloth of the Arabs to the south, although some are a solid grey or black. The green turban which indicates a descendant of the tribe of the Prophet is worn in the same way, but is infrequently encountered. Only one man in Rowanduz, an elderly blacksmith of humble station, appeared in it regularly. The tarbush, the red felt Turkish "fez," has a limited and curious survival as wear, among the Imams or priests of the Shiite (Muslim) faith and Jewish money-changers. It is never seen in the town. A peculiar type of woolen cap, with a cloth bill in front, a round tassel on top, and a loose hanging which falls over the back of the neck, is found occasionally, affected by chieftains and their bodyguards. It is a peculiarity of a mountain tribal group, the Zibari. In the Rowanduz district it is taken to indicate a pugnacious or formidable character. It is difficult to decide on its origin. There is an old and extremely widespread prejudice throughout the Islamic world against headgear with brims or bills "because they do not permit the wearer to touch his forehead to the ground in prayer."

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Indoors, in a private home, a person dressed in this 291
fashion may discard his turban, placing it on the seat
beside him, wearing only his cap. In his own house,
particularly during summer, the sash, jacket, and outer
trousers are also removed. As far as headdress is concerned,
few townsmen remain completely uncovered except
when sleeping, and the cap is worn, with or without the
turban, a large part of the day.

Several persons in the town wear the Arab style, a 177
dishdasha (colloquial Arabic of Iraq), a full-length cassock 291
of wool or cotton buttoned at the neck, and a simple turban
of a single scarf wound flatly about the skullcap. Over
the cassock is sometimes seen the *'aba* or *rida*, a loosely-fitting
collarless mantle with short, full sleeves, woven
in wide wool mesh and decorated with a thicker border of
gold and silver thread. The *mullas* or town priests always [793]
use this garb. In contrast to Arab garments, the incursion
in recent years of European cotton pajamas, obtained from
the tailors or from Erbil, has been marked. These are worn
over the undergarments and are for lounging rather than
sleeping. Some of the youths wear them on the streets,
and an older student in pajamas and a European cloth
jacket is not an uncommon sight in a *chaikhana*. They
are not, however, considered polite outdoor attire for
persons of dignity. In winter the townsmen put on few
unique items of clothing, unless they possess a European
overcoat, and bundle up in additional shirts, vests, and

the like underneath the conventional outer garments. [77]

Civil officials wear European clothing, discarding 291 the necktie during the summer. A number affect the black wool forage cap instituted by King Faisal I. to replace the red *tarbush* of Ottoman connotation, rather than the usual European headgear, and others go bareheaded. It is interesting that some Kurdish officials of higher rank prefer the European felt hat, rarely worn by Arab civil servants, and this is taken as a tacit sign of what may be termed the "Kurdish resistance" to Arab rule. For un- [448] dress attire, the official divests himself of his outer garments and puts on pajamas or the *dishdasha*, the cassock, and replaces shoes and stockings with open-toed leather slippers of the Bedouin type, these last not generally used by the townsmen. Schoolboys wear a curious mixture, the characteristic garb consisting of a cloth European jacket, a shirt buttoned at the neck, and the baggy white cotton trousers worn by adults as underdrawers. It remains 391 to notice that most wardrobes in the town contain a great variety of second-hand clothing of all types, Arab, Kurdish, and European, and these appear according to the taste or resources of the wearer, particularly for indoor use. Many costumes thus seem to be motley in appearance, because almost any garment is passed through the family until finally worn out. Similarly, much is transmitted from the wealthy [451] to the poor, for clothing is a favorite benefice at the [793] time of a festival or great occasion, such as the birth of a son, aside from everyday bequests. The servant of an

army officer may wear his master's cast-off uniform 291
trousers, the servant of an official a frayed shirt or
sweater bestowed on him, and so on. On the other hand, a
civil official or officer, aside from a few lounging items
used privately, never appears in the "national dress" of a
Kurd or an Arab, even in part. The Arabic adjective beledi 186
(from beled, "town" or "municipality") is met here for the 291
first time, referring to a "true countryman" in the same 554
connotation as echt deutsch in German, but with an extremely
derogatory meaning. An Iraqi who follows a career as an
official or an officer has entered a higher class of
society, and to misunderstand his new status by wearing,
say, a skullcap, a turban, or the Arab headdress, would
expose him to ridicule as a "rustic," beledi, who has no
understanding of urban manners. This is particularly true [664]
of a Kurdish official, for such attire might be interpreted as symptomatic of nationalistic, and hence revolutionary, leanings. While the older aristocracy, the Arab
and Kurdish chieftains wear the costumes of their people
as a matter of course, there is no democracy of clothing
as far as the government service and the governed are
concerned.

Most of the men of the district are armed and appear 411
frequently in public carrying weapons, particularly the
chieftains and their bodyguards. The simplest and most
widespread is the khanjir or dagger which is a curved
blade of steel, sharpened on both edges, with a raised
central rib. The hilt, without the protection of a guard,

is of wood or horn with a studded pommel, and the sheath is of rawhide. There is some variation in size, but the typical weapon is about a foot in length. The best steel is supposed to have tiny undulations in its grain, and comes from Mosul or Damascus. The finer examples have engraved silver hilts and sheaths, and the grip is often bound with silver wire. The _khanjir_ is worn in the sash on the right side and is held with the blade curving downward toward the user. From this position virtually the only stroke is a vertical slashing motion with the raised forearm, and its use does not have the versatility of a straight blade, which, for example, can be used in thrusting. Often the rosary (_tesbih_, from Arabic _subha_) is entwined about the hilt. To digress, the Muslim rosary in its complete form consists of 99 beads, separated into groups of 33 by 3 markers, but today this is only found preserved in the homes of the extremely pious or worn around the waist of a _darwish_. It is used in certain devotional exercises, and the number of beads is popularly supposed to correspond to the 99 names or qualities of God found in the Quran. The common form, such as that referred to above, is of 33 beads with two markers, and has a much simpler application in occupying the hand whenever idle, with no reference whatever to religious sentiment, a substitute for the cigarette. Most are of heavy amberoid beads imported from Germany and strung in a loop ending in three small tassels. The most precious come from Mecca and are

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of ebony or some other wood inlaid with silver dots. 789
The rosary may also be carried hanging loosely about the 293
wrist.

The chieftains, and other townspeople of high 411
station, carry pistols, almost always of the automatic
type, in oilcloth holsters on the right or left hip, some-
times attached to the belt with a lanyard. The butt is
often wrapped in a silk handkerchief, and this, together
with the type of holster and the position in which it is
worn, mitigates against the most efficient use, as in the
case of the dagger. Bodyguards, as well as most of the
populace, when fully armed, carry rifles and oilcloth
bandoliers of ammunition, the latter hung crossed on the
chest. The rifles are usually Iranian Army Mausers.
British army weapons, such as the Webley revolver, are
avoided because their possession is not easily explained [578]
to the authorities. It is difficult for Americans, in
whose homes firearms are commonplace, to appreciate the
apprehensiveness of government officers in an area of
well-armed people such as this. In Egypt, Iran, Syria,
and Turkey, as well as most of Iraq, the bulk of the
agricultural population have comparatively few rifles among
them and there is little threat of armed revolt in this
quarter, save in the case of a few minority groups, such
as the Druzes, who have maintained their integrity by
precisely this means. The sale of arms and ammunition, [656]
except by almost impossible government formalities, is

forbidden in the Rowandus area and an investigation of 491
their sources might prove embarrassing to the government [656]
itself. Most of the modern items, however, have an
Iranian Army history. The adulation of weapons, common
to the youth of many countries, is a prominent feature of
Kurdish adolescence, and a lad who by diligence or a stroke
of good fortune has obtained an elderly pistol or a rifle
has a treasure indeed. The skill of the Kurds with arms
is open to some question, in view of the high price of
illicit ammunition, but several demonstrations were wit- [136]
nessed on vultures (whom it is strictly forbidden to [652]
shoot) which gave evidence of capability.

In treating the costume of the women of the town, it 291
is important to remember that three different categories
must be dealt with, the wives of the civil officials,
Kurdish townswomen of the upper class, and those of humbler
stations, although the difference in dress between the
latter two groups is largely a matter of the quality of
the material and the wearing of the veil. To describe
first the garments of a Kurdish woman of the lower classes,
the basic undergarment, as in the case of the men, is a
pair of white cotton drawers falling below the knees, al-
though in these the bottoms are more tightly bound about
the calves. Above this a simple cotton shirt may appear.
Over the drawers full trousers of dark-coloured cloth,
drawn in at the ankles, may be worn, an invariable item in
the attire of village women. To build up the outer gar-
ment a series of chemises and simple dresses with long,

pen sleeves and the skirt dropping to the ankles are put n, although in the case of village women only one or two uter dresses, usually dark blue in colour, are used. For headdress, the peasant wife, and, to a certain extent, wnswomen of the poorer houses, have a cap combined with a turban for everyday use. The cap, mentioned above as mbroidered on a loose piece of cloth and stitched together y the purchaser, is of the "pill-box" rather than the hemispherical shape. The turban, in contrast to that of the men, is permanently sewn to it, and is also a dark blue in colour, a single roll of cloth. 291

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The matter of the veil requires some discussion, a restriction which, of course, has no existence among the women themselves and immature children. In general, Kurdish women of the upper class may only appear unveiled before the men of their family, and, if of sufficient age and dignity, to male friends of the house. On the other hand, women of the villages, faced with the exigencies of their life, working in the fields and going to market, are always unveiled and a trip to the *bazaar* crowded with men affords them no discomfort. However, the appearance of a socially prominent or alien person may cause them to hide their heads. Brazenness, deprecated by many of the men, disappears in a moment, perhaps in some fear of the evil eye. Save in the case of an older woman of aristocratic lineage, the sustained glance of a stranger will cause almost any rural Kurdish woman, no matter what her rank, to turn away or to run. The veil, associated with the upper classes, is also

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a matter of social status, and many women, flattering themselves, will hide their faces although their station does not warrant it, to the amusement and sometimes the respect of others. One noticed from a distance that an elderly woman of the lower class turned against a wall and concealed her face from Rashid Agha of Jindian. "The old fool," he said, "she thinks herself still a girl." The townswomen of wealthier houses never appear in the streets unveiled; and the old, heavy covering of Ottoman times has been replaced completely by the lighter *pacha*, derived from the Arab cities. This garment is easily formed by knotting together two corners of a large piece of black cloth so as to make a tight circle at one end in the dimension of the head. This circle is placed around the skull with the knot at the nape of the neck and the whole cloth is tossed backwards, covering the hair and hanging down over the shoulders and back. The forward edges can be controlled with the hands and drawn across the face whenever necessary. Within their homes, most women use a simple headcloth, usually of white gauze, which falls over the shoulders and hangs to the waist, and, just as the men, are infrequently without something on their heads. Among the Kurds, however, it is a much greater shame for a girl to have her legs observed by a stranger than her face. 291 562 [77]

The rich garments of a wedding or the festival, particularly in wealthy houses, are of much the same type, with the addition of a few items and the better quality of 292 the materials. Here bright colours are worn, typically 292 deep reds and blues, and a number of chemises, skirts, and aprons make up the costume. A white blouse and a tight jacket with long sleeves are often seen. For a headdress, the headcloth in white and in coloured silks is found, as well as a cap to which a circular disk, the *qurs*, some five inches in diameter, of embossed gold or silver has been sewn and around which a turban of silk is affixed. This last is one of a woman's dearest possessions, and the *qurs*, refitted with cap and turban whenever necessary, is either bestowed on a favorite daughter or kept until death. Whether or not a woman "dresses up" each day depends very much on her own personality. In some houses of the wealthy, the mistress wears only a simple print frock and the white headcloth, while in others, sometimes of lower station, the wife is always resplendent in a multiplicity of garments and jewelry. The servants of Leili Khan, herself in perpetual mourning, are always "dressed for a wedding." In cold weather women of any class do not use a coat, but add undergarments and a shawl.

The wives of government personnel, who are for a 554 large part Arabs, have the same social origins as their 562 husbands, the educated middle and upper class families of Iraq. Some of the officials are unaccompanied by their spouses, and those of lower rank, the *mudirs*, the junior army officers, and the teachers, are usually unmarried. Nevertheless a number of these women are resident in the

town, and have a certain amount of influence on its social 554
life. An interesting phenomenon is to be observed here, for 562
the officials and officers, who are far more European in certain respects than the Kurdish populace, are more illiberal in their concept of women, particularly in a rural setting in which gossip enjoys considerable power. Masculine friends of a Kurdish home might meet its mistress socially, but in Rowandus the best friend of an official, no matter what his derivation or status, can visit a house regularly for a matter of years and never catch sight of
the wife in question. Whenever these women appear on the 291
streets they are closely veiled in black from head to toe, 562
and are never seen uncovered by any save their husbands and other women. The young medical officer, trained in Lebanon and otherwise thoroughly cosmopolitan, was peculiarly adamant on this point. It must be noticed that under their veils these wives wear garments which are no different from those of their sisters in Europe or America. It is interesting to see one of them walking, shrouded completely in shapeless black, and in the ten or twelve inches between veil and ground to observe nylon stockings and fashionable high-heeled sandals.

Many women go barefoot in their homes, and their 291
footwear includes European models, some simple slippers, and
the *kabkabs*. These last are smooth wooden clogs, raised [411]
slightly at the heels, with leather straps for the toes, [579]
and, after hair-pulling, are the favored weapons in a feminine brawl. Women of the villages or poorer families

rarely wear stockings, for there is little need of them 291
with the ankle-length trousers. Those of wealthier homes often use them, obtained from the local merchants or Arbil.

The clothing of infants and children does not require extended discussion. Infants, both male and female, are clad in simple cloth dresses, utilized at one time for a boy and the next for a girl, and no diapers or undergarments of a specific type are in use. Girls add a pair of cotton drawers beneath the dress at about five years of age, and continue in this simple ensemble until they reach what is considered a marriageable age, usually about sixteen. At this point they begin to don the pecha or light veil whenever in public. The daughters of the wealthy
may have a rich costume and jewelry in imitation of their [301]
mothers, but most have to await their wedding for these things. In a family with a number of daughters, such as that of the merchant Fatah-Ullah with six, the dresses are traded about regularly, almost from day to day, and a problem faced by parents is providing a new garment for one daughter without a storm of protests from her sisters. Little boys of the wealthy houses are also outfitted at an early age in imitation of their elders or, sometimes, as in the case of the nephew of Ra'uf Effendi (who, incidentally, always appears in Kurdish dress), have European
blouses and playsuits. On the garb of this particular [751]
youngster, however to all appearances European, one must [754]
note the piece of blue porcelain placed on the shoulder to ward off the evil eye. Most boys of the town wear

white cotton trousers and shirts, similar to the undergarments of adults, and the student like to add a cloth European jacket. The dress of the children of officials and officers is much like that of their Kurdish playfellows, at the same time more European in character, particularly for the boys who sometimes wear cloaks and jackets. Almost all of the youth go barefoot a large part of the time, although sandals or shoes appear in the winter, usually without stockings. The infants and younger children are confined to the houses in extremely cold weather, and the problem for them does not exist. There is no specific time at which a youth or a maiden must put on adult attire. In the case of a girl, the parents insist on the veil whenever they feel the neighbors "might talk" if it was not worn. For the boys, the adulation of weapons has already been noticed, and is coupled with a similar feeling toward the clothing of chieftains and their bodyguards, warriors full-blown in the eyes of adolescence. Hence the mother is under considerable pressure to influence the father for money to deck out his son in adult clothing. The young Kurd who follows a government career in the secondary schools and colleges of the cities soon learns to sublimate such notions to the condemning adjective __baladi__, "rustic," although he may retain a certain admiration for the dashing garb of the heroes of his youth. 291 [854] 186 291

A Kurdish townsman usually washes his hands and face at least once or twice each day. One of the ceremonials of 515 264 a formal banquet involves cleansing. In entering to dine, certain persons, servants or children, pour water from a metal ewer above a basin over the hands of the guest, furnishing him soap and a towel. Each guest goes through this ritual before going to the table, in groups of two or three. It is repeated a second time when the meal is at an end. According to the direction of the Prophet, the Muslim worshipper must perform the "lesser ablution" (*Wudhu*), washing face, hands, and feet, before each of the five daily prayers. Because an observably large proportion of the populace, with no respect to social status, does not pray five times each day, it is difficult to form any idea of adherence. Similarly, the "greater ablution" (*ghusl*), a complete cleansing of the body, must be undertaken by Muslims after major pollutions, of which the commonest is sexual intercourse. An individual so concerned is *gilis*, "defiled" or "filthy," a violent term of abuse, until bathed, and requiring of a husband the number of baths he has taken in a given period is tantamount to asking how many times he has gone to his wife. It is thus almost impossible, outside of direct observation, to obtain anything other than hearsay on the bathing habits of married people. Nevertheless, it can be seen that most townsmen bathe in the summer at least once or twice each week. The nails are cut with a knife, and cleaned with the same instrument. The attention paid to the pelage will be noted later.

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The heads of the men are not shaven, but the hair is cropped close to the skull by the barber, a tonsure resembling that of a European or American army recruit. The face is shaven clean, save the moustache which has great social significance as a sign of masculinity. A man without some sort of stubble on his upper lip is in danger of being reputed "not quite a man" among both the men and, more injurious to vanity, the women. Indeed, the moustache, through an understandable cultural process, has come to be a necessary attribute of virile beauty, and a person with a luxuriant growth, though destitute of other physical qualities, may be regarded as handsome by the women. Even officials and officers, who often wear their hair long, do not shave the upper lip. A full beard is worn by only a few elderly men in the town, and is interpreted as a sign of both age and piety. Never, in recent years, is the beard, when white or grey, stained with henna, and this usage, ordinary in southern Iraq, is vilified as "Persian" and "Shiite" with the greatest of scorn. Townsmen are also supposed to shave the hair under the arms and around the genitals, although it is again difficult to say to what extent the custom is followed, for it is a great disgrace for a man to be seen naked by others. Except for the cologne of the barber, men do not use cosmetics or perfumes. In this connection, however, one might mention the usage, in spring, of inhaling the fragrance of nut blossoms. Characteristically, a host

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will offer a flower to a guest and the latter is expected 517
to enjoy it for a short time by holding it to his nostrils 824
before passing it to another. Young Kurdish dandies, not, 574
however, in Rowanduz, hold flowers to their faces on the streets of Baghdad or Mosul to circumvent the smells of
the metropolis. Perfume of any sort, probably because of 302
its association with women, is abhorrent to Muslim puri- 562
tans, of whom there are a few in the town, and they avoid it with violent gestures and condemnation.

Because the ablutions before prayers, with some 515
reservation, apply to Muslims of both sexes, it is equally difficult to obtain an exact idea of the bathing habits of the townswomen. Unmarried girls are supposed to wash themselves completely twice or three times each week during the summer and once or twice each fortnight in
colder weather. All of the hair of a woman's body must 302
be removed: the pubic hair with a razor, that under the arms with the fingers, and the rest with a depilatory con-
cocted of sugar and gum arabic. In addition, the ankles [516]
and feet are rubbed with a small piece of black stone. Both men and women clean the teeth with their fingers,
pieces of rag, or European toothbrushes. The hair of a [826]
woman's head, on the other hand, is almost never cut or trimmed, and its length and richness are thought to be
outstanding attributes of feminine beauty. Whenever two [578]
women quarrel, one often cries out "your hair will be cut," a promise of great catastrophe for her opponent.

At an early age, a girl begins to wear a number of braids, 302
and, save when undone in the bath, this type of coiffure [515]
is retained until death. The number of braids varies, and
is usually about ten. The hair is regularly stained a
reddish colour with henna whose use, in addition to being
purely customary, is said "to fortify the scalp." In some
houses, kohl, a finely powdered sulphide of antimony
moistened with water, is applied to blacken the edges of
the eye. European cosmetics and perfumes appear in most
of the wealthier homes, and younger women paint their
lips and nails. Reddening the hands and feet with henna,
a custom for both sexes at a wedding, is not an everyday
practice. The so-called "Baghdad boil," reported to be 164
caused by larvae laid by a type of fly in the skin, 751
usually of the face, is the bane of women in cities such
as Baghdad or Mosul because of its hideous scar. It is
not found in this area, nor is the technique used to
prevent it from occurring on the countenance, artificial
infection of the ankle or calf of a child. For menstruation 841
clean pieces of rag are used as towels, and sexual [833]
intercourse is prohibited during the period. The cloths
are commonly washed and reused. Tattooing is denied by 304
most men to be done by women of the town, but it is
possible to observe daily female residents of the lower
classes with blue dots or marks inscribed on their faces.
These are either transient servants or migrants from the
villages where the use of tattooing is frequent. In the

absence of investigation, the function of village tattoo- 304
ing in this area is not precisely known, but it appears
that it has no tribal or territorial significance, and is
either decorative, magical, or both.

The toilet of children does not differ greatly from 302
that of adults, and girls of wealthier homes use cosmetics
in imitation of their mothers, just as the older boys re-
main unshaven in hopes of growing a moustache. For six [854]
months after birth, the nails of a baby must not be cut,
and an infant's hair is trimmed for the first time at about
the age of one year. At four or five the boys are circum- 304
cised, but the accompanying ceremony, as well as the opera- [852]
tion itself, will be found described in a later section.
The ear lobes of the girls can be pierced at any time in
their early years, but cutting a nostril for the *khizam* [184]
or nose-ring is only to be seen in the villages.

The jewelry of women, of gold and silver, has an 301
important economic function in daily life, for it is a [454]
repository of surplus capital, just like real estate, and
provides insurance against poverty in the event of some
disaster, additionally assuring the woman herself of some
wealth if divorced or widowed. It is gathered in part
from the bridal dowry and in part as gifts from her 583
husband. If, for example, the dowry of a maiden is set 301
at fifty dinars ($140.00), and this sum is matched by her
father, making a total of a hundred dinars ($280.00),
only a part is needed for dresses and household goods,

and the remainder is converted into ornaments. Inasmuch as the greater number of husbands do not anticipate divorce, a profit realized in business may be presented to their spouses in this form, a matter of some delight for the wife, not solely from the decorative point of view. Only land and precious metal have real and lasting value in the popular mind. A laborer in Rowandus whose monthly earnings were rarely in excess of four dinars ($11.20) related how his wife's jewelry had been stolen and subsequently recovered, its value estimated at eighty dinars ($224.00), a large sum for a man of this occupation. The jewelry is the property of the wife, and she takes it with her if divorced, and is free to dispose of it as she pleases. If her husband falls into need, she usually sells it to reinstate him or support the family, and may subsidize her son, perhaps in an advantageous marriage, in the same way. The jewelry itself is today a product of the gold and silversmiths of Erbil, and is not greatly different in style from that produced for the lower classes in Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, and southern Iraq, save that some of the heavy silver ornaments of the Bedouin type, such as anklets, are not in use. In general, chains and bangles of precious metal are made up into more or less complex bracelets, necklaces, and earrings. One of the most expensive items is a collar or necklace of concentric circles of gold chain joined together by flat bangles of various geometric shapes, and another, the [illegible] or disk used in the woman's headdress, has already been

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mentioned. Precious stones and pearls are little in evidence, but coins, of almost any age and variety, are often drilled and included in the ensembles. The silver *qilana* or nose-ring, sometimes containing a piece of turquoise, is only affected by women of the villages. Many married couples wear rings, usually of silver and sometimes set with a piece of coloured glass, on the third or fourth finger of the right hand, but they are not a necessary part of engagement or marriage. Men wear little jewelry save a ring and a few sport a silver or imitation gold watch-fob hanging from a breast pocket. There is some aversion on the part of men to wearing gold, and this is said to have a background in Islamic tradition. The elegant seal-rings of Medieval and Ottoman times have almost completely disappeared, except in a few of the older families, such as that of Ra'uf Effendi, where they are preserved as heirlooms. 301 [943] [302]

It has been seen that the townspeople have little regard for intoxicants, nor do they make use of drugs such as the opium of Iran to the east or the *hashish* of Lebanon and Syria to the west. If there are excesses among the natives of Rowanduz, they are only tea-drinking and smoking, the first of which has been discussed. Cigarettes are the most popular mode of consuming tobacco, and have several varieties. From the merchants British cigarettes and those made in the factories of Baghdad may be obtained. The officials and officers habitually use these, and they are 776

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usually offered to guests in wealthy homes or to visitors in a shop in the *bazar*. Most of the populace, however, smoke those prepared from local leaf in the houses by the women. These are made in great quantity by filling manufactured paper tubes, about four inches in length, and folding down the paper remaining at one end. A number of persons possess small Austrian cigarette-rollers, devices which can be carried on the person enclosing a certain amount of tobacco and a book of papers. Factory-made cigarettes are kept in their pasteboard boxes, and Baghdadis, some of the government personnel, have nowadays [not] the habit, probably ephemeral, of letting the nail of the little finger on the left hand grow long with which to slit open the package. The longer domestic product is typically carried in a silvered metal box, resembling a covered soap-dish, imported from abroad. A number of persons use heavy cigarette holders of wood or imported celluloid, out of proportion to the cigarette in thickness. In Ottoman times, many had pipes with long stems, two or three feet in length, but they have largely disappeared. It is still possible to buy pottery bowls in the *bazar* to which a drilled wooden shaft can be attached as a stem, but they are not popular. The water-pipe is not remembered as ever having had much use in the area. A smaller pipe survives among the villagers and men of the lower class, a stubby form in baked clay of curious design with an overall length of about five inches and the height of the bowl, two or three. One product of the area is a long wooden cigarette holder, cut from the thin branch of a cherry tree and laboriously drilled, but it has little more than curiosity value for the local people. European cigarette lighters are in great demand, and together with the dagger and the rosary form an important part in every adult male's ensemble. There are several varieties of these, and are Austrian in derivation. Several craftsmen in the town use flint and steel to light their pipes, but this is relatively rare, a survival among the poor and thrifty. Both men and women smoke, the latter as much as their husbands, and there is no restriction on youngsters. Children usually avoid tobacco as a matter of physical distaste, not because of any prohibition laid upon them. During the fasting hours of Ramadan it is considered impolite, if not impious, to smoke on the streets, although tobacco, of course, has no mention in the Quran. 276 [439] [291] [372] [785] [576]

Almost all of the houses are infested with mice, but, insofar as their inroads are not too intensive, they are not regarded as a particular nuisance. Homes of the lower classes, as well as the khan or hotel, are infested with vermin of various types, of which the chief scourge is the flea. Both flies and mosquitoes are troublesome in the summer months, and some effort is expended to keep them from infants, but the greater number of adults pay little attention to them. Scorpions and snakes sometimes turn up, and are killed with the greatest possible dispatch. 136

One curious fact gradually dawns on an American observer, 825
that almost no one is ever heard whistling, and one of 533
the reasons elicited is that it is supposed to attract
snakes. A few lizards are found in the houses and their 736
value in ridding the rooms of insects is recognized. In
winter most of the pests disappear, and their annoyance is
greatest in the warmest days of summer. A large percentage 164
of the townspeople do not consult the medical officer for 758
their ailments, and, coupled with the deficiency of information
in the hospital itself, it is thus difficult to
arrive at any exact answer to the question of health. Infant 165
mortality appears to be high, but an individual who
passes adolescence seems to have excellent chances of
reaching old age. The number of men in the town vigorous 887
at sixty, seventy, and eighty years is surprising. Ra'uf
Effendi was considering a second marriage at sixty, to replace
the son who had died [at the age of eleven "of the [761]
evil eye"], and Shakir Effendi led an extremely active
life at eighty-five, walking up and down the steep slope
of the town eight times each day. Dysentery troubles almost 169
everyone, and there are a few cases of malaria every
summer. Most housewives have a series of remedies for 757
everyday complaints, but it cannot be denied that a 759
physician who commanded the respect of the townspeople
would find himself most welcome.

In concluding this section it may be observed that 177
there have been a number of changes in household life since

the First World War, but they have been more in the substitution of the materials used and in the addition of new items rather than anything radical. Most of these are European, such as kerosene stoves and shoes, and have either displaced older manufactures, some of which survive, or have been readily accepted as new devices. The Kurd is no innovator, but welcomes new things of a material sort, particularly if they appeal to him as ingenious, as the cigarette-lighter, and are integrated without difficulty into his daily life. It cannot be maintained that the increase of European imports has destroyed the self-sufficiency of the household or of the district, although it has certainly furthered the deterioration of native crafts, for this area has utilized trade from other localities for centuries. In general, it might be said that the last fifty years have seen the introduction of many new means to the same ends. An imported kerosene stove and cooking utensils are now used to prepare food, but the diet and the etiquette of dining have changed little. The sewing machine and fabrics from the mills of Great Britain now provide clothing, but the costume, save for European shoes, is much the same. A drastic reorientation has not been necessitated by the introduction of these new appurtenances, and household life in Rowanduz can be said to have evolved, and to still be evolving, into something which daily makes increased use of the devices and products of European civilization with great stability. [77] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

CHAPTER V

THE SOCIETY

Something of the composition of society in Rowanduz has been seen in the preceding pages, as well as the distinction between "wealthier" and "poorer" families, but the social structure of the town is much more complex than its cleavages along lines of occupation or of wealth, and requires more extended discussion, of particular importance inasmuch as this has proven the most significant area of change in recent decades. To approach this problem it is again necessary to have initial reference to the country as a whole, for in this larger province certain things of relevance to the life of the town must be appreciated. The sociology of Iraq does not appear to have had any single, adequate exposition in recent years, although much of what will be said in this connection can be found scattered in a wide variety of publications, and is commonplace to residents and travelers in the region. 565 [illegible]

Of the several divisions of the society of Iraq, the first is that between Muslims and non-Muslims. The adherents of Islam represent by far the greatest part of the population, and, according to Quranic law, a Muslim girl cannot marry outside this group unless the suitor, if accepted, becomes a convert himself, a rule which is rigidly [illegible]

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suffered. Of the non-Muslims, the Jews might be mentioned first, and their own system of marriage is like that of Islam. By long tradition, heightened by the recent Israeli war, the Jews are greatly despised, but most of them have already migrated to their new country. The departure of the Jewish craftsmen and shopkeepers from Rowanduz has already been noticed. Of the Christians, an unconscious distinction is made in the Muslim mind between those who come from the Western world, and those who are native to the area or the Eastern Mediterranean. The military prowess and advanced culture of Europe or America are recognized, and almost any male from these countries is *[illegible] [illegible]* as *afandi* or gentleman. The Briton, because of the part of his country's imperialism in the Middle East, may be disliked, but he is usually respected. On the other hand, Christians such as the Armenians, Chaldeeans, Greeks, and Nestorians, who have been Islamic subjects in the past, are looked upon with some contempt. The Armenians and Greeks are largely urban minorities, engaged in commerce, and are generally vilified, as are Jews and certain Syrians in the cities, as cheats and thieves. The Chaldeeans and the Nestorians, most of the latter displaced from their homeland in Turkey after the First World War, were once exclusively engaged in agriculture, and, as a peaceful folk, were not considered particularly different from Muslim peasants. Kurdish chieftains and their men have been invited to Nestorian festivals and there has been

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considerable social intercourse between the two groups. 186
Unfortunately, the Nestorians, unable to find land in Iraq, 563
took service with the British, particularly in the infantry 571
levy battalions, and had a part, among other things, in
crushing two Kurdish revolts. There are many of them settled
in the Rowanduz area, at Batas, Dera Harir and Dyana, and,
while outwardly amicable, the Kurds feel toward them a
certain amount of distrust and, in view of their alliance
with the British, especially in the lucrative occupations
of the Iraq Petroleum Company, jealousy. For their part,
the Nestorians live in fear of massacre, and as many as [[illegible]]
are able migrate abroad. The Christians of this entire [582]
group are just as adamant in the matter of the marriage of
their daughters to Muslims as the Muslims are toward them.
One can find Muslims in Baghdad with American, British, or
German wives, but never Armenian or Chaldean.

There is a curious sociological fact to be seen here. 627
Muslim girls who become prostitutes (in fact, any Muslim 737
woman whose reputation has been questioned) are in imminent 564
danger of being slain by their relatives, and the Baghdad
press is filled daily with such killings. Thus most of [583]
them assume Christian names, often of a glamour favorite,
and wear a cross conspicuously at the throat, changing
outwardly their religion to avoid detection. Islam 771
commands tremendous respect from its followers and is a 578
"proud" religion, one of warriors and conquerors. A
Muslim may be cursed by a non-Muslim to a certain point,

and must never be struck. For an "unbeliever" to use the curse in the name of religion, of which the full form is la'natu Allahi 'ala dinak, "the damnation of God on your faith," is an invitation to certain catastrophe. K 771 578

There are certain groups in Iraq, neither Muslim, Christian, or Jewish, the Yazidis or "devil-worshippers" of Jebel Sinjar and the Mandaeans of the southern provinces, who, as peaceful farmers and craftsmen, do not often come to the notice of the bulk of the population, and are regarded in the popular mind as curiosities more than anything else. The Yazidi girls are supposed to be "the most beautiful in the world," the same thing said by both Muslims and Christians in Lebanon and Syria of the Druze women. There is no intermarriage between the Muslims and these groups. Y 156 241 Y [162] Y [582]

The second division is to be found among Muslims themselves, between those of the Sunna ("custom") or orthodoxy, whose recognition of the legitimacy of the first four successors of the Prophet is perhaps the best known characteristic, and those of the Shi'ah ("party," from Shi'at 'Ali, "the party of 'Ali"), originally revolutionary, who insist on the primacy of the son-in-law of the Prophet and his descendants. The latter tradition has been the state religion of Iran from the time of the Safavid shahs (1502-1736), and today includes, in one form, the peoples of Iran, Pakistan, and the agricultural population of southern Iraq. In central and northern K 775 779 175

Iraq the *Sunna* is represented by most of the Arab groups, 795
the Kurds, the Turks, and the Turkomans. The conflict be- 777
tween the two, often with violent political expressions, is 175
much the same as that between Catholic and Protestant in [578]
Germany, although there is little analogy in the type of
religious content. The governing class in Iraq, deriving
from Ottoman times, is about half Sunnite, and the dis-
sension is often pursued along ethnic lines, Arab and Turk 795
against Arab and Persian. Certain practices, such as 186
staining the beard with henna, are condemned by the Kurds [302]
alternatively as Shiite or Iranian. Curiously, they
despise clitorectomy, in the Shiite sect purely Arabic and [304]
Iraqi, as *Farsi*, "Persian," despite the fact that the
practice seems to have no record in that country. One
might suppose, particularly in view of the growth of pan-
Islamic movements in recent years, that this distinction
between Sunnite and Shiite was falling into decay. As a
[illegible] in Rowanduz the investigator, on being informed
by an army officer that he came from the southern provinces,
innocently inquired if he belonged to the *Shi'ah*. When the
officer replied seriously in the affirmative, there was a
burst of laughter and derision from his fellow officers and
officials, a matter of no little embarrassment. Even on [582]
the highest levels of society, there are few marriages be-
tween Sunnite and Shiite families.

The third division is an ethnic or national line, 563
which, aside from foreigners and non-Moslems, separates

Arabs, Kurds, Turkomans, and Turks. There are Persian pluralities in the cities of central and southern Iraq, but they fall under the religious classification of Shi'ah and there seems to be no conflict between them and Arabs of their own persuasion. The Turks are few in number and are concentrated in the middle and upper classes. In the days before the liberation of Iraq, there was bitter enmity toward the Turks as the representatives of Ottoman rule, but this has disappeared in recent years and there is no restriction, as, indeed, there never was, on marriage between members of this class and Sunnite Muslims, Arabs and Kurds, of comparable status. A survey of the lists of officials and army officers reveals the remarkable extent to which the survivors of Ottoman rule have retained their position in the government service. The Turkomans are gathered in central and northeastern Iraq, mainly about Altun Kopri and [illegible], and have been [illegible] in national affairs, largely farmers and shepherds, a remnant of the famous Turks of the White Sheep. Again, there appears to be no restriction on marriage with Sunnite Muslims, but there is little reason for an Arab, Kurd, or Turk of the upper classes to take an illiterate, impoverished bride from among them. 563 [563] [562]

The matter of Arab and Kurd is quite otherwise, for in the case of the latter there is a well-armed minority population, Muslims, and hence free of the complications of religious [illegible], with a strong base in agriculture and animal husbandry. They are estimated at 800,000 persons, [illegible]

and representatives of the same nation, totalling several 186
millions, are hard by in Iran, Syria, and Turkey. There 668
is some cause for apprehension as there have been no less [601]
than six armed Kurdish rebellions, some common to several
of the four governments involved and quelled with diffi-
culty, in the past twenty-five years. As is the case of
most of the population, the royal family of Iraq is Arab and
the language of government is Arabic. The spectre of [668]
Kurdish nationalism strikes terror in the hearts of govern-
ment officials, and there is little love lost between
Arab and Kurd. Many of the Kurds regard the Arabs as un-
lawful rulers, at the same time scorning them for the
poverty and filth to be found in southern Iraq. "Are you [56]
an Arab?" a Kurdish man or woman often challenges a dirty
child of the village, "Go wash yourself." On their part,
the Arabs, particularly those of the upper classes,
following the tradition of Xenophon, regard the Kurds with
a mixture of fear and disgust. "Why do you waste your time [illegible]
with these people?" the investigator was asked by an Arab
official, "they are all bandits." In spite of these things, 572
there is no bar to intermarriage between the two groups, and
any Kurd can rise to great prominence in the government 585
service, although he is *a priori* under suspicion. In 1950
two of the fourteen provinces in Iraq were directed by
Kurdish governors, and the command of the army unit at
Rowanduz was for a time given to a Kurdish staff officer.

In addition, there is a certain amount of rivalry 46
between persons of different provinces or cities, for

example, an Arab of Mosul and one of Baghdad, but it does 186
not appear to be of a serious nature. Among the Kurds, one can often hear the natives of a certain locale praising it to the exclusion of others. "The preparation of rice at Sulaymaniya is the best," a Kurd of this city proclaims in a discussion of cookery, but feelings of this type do not operate to separate the people in any important way, because religious and ethnic divisions have much greater weight. On the other hand, tribal allegiance in certain 619
rural areas has great importance, although increased 582
government control in matters such as the vendetta has mitigated their character to some extent. It is difficult to formulate any general rules for tribal endogamy or exogamy, because the chieftains often intermarry with aristocratic houses of the same standing, regardless of tribe. The tendency among most tribesmen, Kurd or Arab, is toward marriage within their own group, because the preferential match is between cousins.

In the other divisions of society, two parallel 565
systems, at many points intermingled, are to be found. In the first of these there is a simple division between a hereditary aristocracy and a mass of commoners and this system is primitive or quasi-primitive. Save for Kurdistan and certain areas held by groups such as the Christians, the Mandaeans, or the Yazidis, much of Iraq has been partitioned for centuries among Arab tribes. The chieftains of these tribes and their subdivisions are aristocrats who inherit their positions in the paternal

tion, usually with the common consent of the tribesmen. 565
Beneath them are commoners, shepherds and peasants, and, in the villages, a number of merchants, craftsmen and laborers. Some of these chieftains own little more than their own tents or houses, while others have immense fortunes and estates. Arab leaders of this type are invariably associated with tribes, but some of the Kurdish chiefs are feudal landlords without tribal affiliation, although their ranks and titles are inherited in the same way. Generally speaking, men belonging to this hereditary group may marry beneath their station, but daughters are never allowed to do so. The chieftains themselves may be illiterate and wear the costume of their people, Arab or Kurd, but, insofar as they are powerful or wealthy, they move freely in the highest echelons of society. There is no vertical mobility in this system, and it is nominally impossible for a commoner, no matter what his power and wealth, to become a chieftain, although one suspects that this has happened in the past.

The second system, paralleling the first, is of a different character and is the civilized society of the state. At its base are again shepherds and peasants, with the addition of the urban proletariat, laborers, servants, soldiers, and the like. The great cleavage in this group is the difference between literacy and illiteracy, judged in terms of matriculation in the secondary schools. It is difficult for us to appreciate the overpowering importance of education in this society. An educated man from the

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lower classes enters upon a new and loftier status, becoming a gentleman. Never again is he allowed to engage in menial labor, nor the sons of his inferiors. Only certain occupations are open to him, the government service, the professions, and, to a lesser extent, business. It is the hope and dream of every father and mother of the lower classes that one or more of their sons will be educated, and thus honor them, and they endure great sacrifices to this end, sometimes ill-repaid by the young official who scorns their plebeian manners and dress. For this very reason the bureaucracy is heavily overburdened with men whose training does not permit them to return to "degrading" toil, and every year the number of applicants increases. For most, business has little attraction, the province of foreigners, Christians, and Jews, but it must be admitted that some Moslem families who have interested themselves in this way have proven much more enterprising and ambitious than their rivals of other religions and nations. Occupying the uppermost strata of this system are the highest government officials and officers, wealthy landlords, some of whom possess huge estates, and others of a similar nature, politicians, lawyers, and physicians. The middle class, of course, includes the lesser government personnel, educators, business and professional men. The lower class begins with uneducated artisans and craftsmen and descends to the masses. There is no well-defined line of demarcation between these groups, save that which separates the educated and uneducated. There is also no bar to mobility, and the son of the peasant

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peasant, by dint of education and enterprise, may rise to the highest ministry in the state. However, those families already in the upper classes, through wealth and influence, tend to retain their hold. As far as inter-marriage is concerned, mates are sought who are equal to or higher in status than the person in question. It has been said that there is only one definite cleavage, but there is also a very fine sense of equality in terms of relative wealth and rank. It is possible for a man of the upper class of this system to marry into the hereditary aristocracy, and for a chieftain to take a wife from among the daughters of some official or officer, but, insofar as the aristocratic rank is patrilineal, there is no danger to the proud lineages in question. On the whole, there seems to be far less stringency in matters of marriage in this system than in the first. A successful lawyer, for example, a peasant by birth, might marry the daughter of a minister, but the daughter of a chieftain can never wed a successful peasant. 555 565 565 582

It would be incorrect to assign the Moslem clergy, the _mullas_ of the Sunnites and the _imams_ of the Shiites, to any particular horizon in the two systems, for they are to be found in almost all classes of society. They are literate, of course, inasmuch as it is necessary to be able to read the Koran, but there is some suspicion that a few have acquired chapters and verses by ear alone, without fully understanding the art of reading. An amusing 793 792 [533] story, widespread in the Middle East, tells of one such illiterate approached by a peasant woman with a letter, apparently bringing news of her husband on the pilgrimage to Mecca. "Should I rejoice or weep?" she anxiously inquired of the mulla who was studying the document intently. "Weep," he answered after a short time, and the woman tore her garments and went into mourning, assuming her spouse to have died in the course of his pious errand. Actually, however, the letter announced the safe arrival of the man in question, a message ordinarily causing the greatest rejoicing and the preparation of a feast of welcome. When the pilgrim returned, he was dismayed to find his house clothed in mourning, and asked the neighbors who gathered in great excitement about him the identity of the deceased. "God is greatest! you are dead, Hajji," they replied. The matter was speedily explained by discussion, and the whole party sought of the mulla some reason for his peculiar rendition. "If I told the wife to rejoice," returned the latter, "in the arrogance of her demonstrations of joy she might have tempted the Lord to destroy her husband," and all were satisfied with these words. There are both poor and wealthy mullas, and they are able to marry according to their status in this sense. The dervish, as a religious mendicant, is always a man of the lowest class, but, as one learned in esoteric lore, even persons of the highest status are initiated into the mysteries of the dervish orders. In Rowanduz one would find a dervish in a deserted

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beggar who, among other things, performed such feats as eating pebbles for alms in the __chaikhanas__, as well as is one of the best-educated men of the community. 792 735

Turning to the Rowanduz district, it is possible to illustrate and to amplify these general remarks. First, there is a landed, hereditary aristocracy of Kurds. As far as one can gather from the meager histories of the area, the Kurds had been ruled by independent or semi-independent chieftains for an unknown period until Ottoman and Iranian power was able to extend its rule over them. This control, usually superficial, was never solidified until after the First World War. As rulers, the Kurdish chieftains led their people in war, arbitrated their quarrels, and, to some extent, directed their economy. In return for these things, they laid claim to a certain share of annual produce, animals or harvest. In some cases the chieftainship appears to have had certain democratic aspects, the new ruler, characteristically, but not necessarily, the eldest son of the deceased, selected from a noble household by an assembly of the tribesmen. In others it was purely aristocratic. As has been seen above, chieftains are many times associated with tribes, that is to say, there is no tribe without such a leader, but otherwise they are feudal overlords. Often a chieftain can be both the head of a tribal group and the "owner" of nontribal lands and villages. The tenure of property illustrates this. Sometimes the land and flocks are owned by the 565 174 622 619 [648] 565 622 619 423 tribal group as a whole from which the chieftain is "granted" his yearly share, while in other cases they are his personal possessions, inherited through the noble family, which he can dispose of as he pleases. It appears that a stage between tribal and feudal society is represented here, a combination of both systems which may have existed in this way for centuries, and which is largely primitive in character. 423 619 622 565

The aristocratic Kurdish households are, in fact, extended patrilineal families for which the term is 565 596 *familiya*, parallel in its similarity to the Latin *familia*. The same term is sometimes applied to houses of great wealth and numbers, but this seems to be comparatively rare. Only these households and *sayyids*, descendants of the tribe of [173] the Prophet, keep genealogies (*sejera*, from Arabic *shajara*, "tree"). In the case of the *sayyid* the title can be inherited on either side, but the patent of nobility is 611 565 solely patrilineal. One of the tests of nobility is said to be the ability to name one's patrilineal forebears to seven generations, and no one in Rowanduz, outside of these families, is able to perform this feat. The titles of the nobility include *beg*, *agha*, and *mir*, all of Turkish derivation. 565 554 In Ottoman times *pasha* was also in use, and the grandfather of Isma'il Beg was called "Abdullah Pasha." The Arabic *shaykh*, literally, "old man," appears, as in such distinguished Kurdish figures as Shaykh Mahmud, leader of the revolts in 1922 and 1930, and Shaykh Taha, noted for his piety, but it not only connotes chieftainship, in the sense of the Arabs, but also has a religious meaning. Certain Kurdish chieftains, shaykhs, were supposed to have an almost magical quality in their persons, and, for example, could cure ailments by the laying on of hands. In general, each son takes the title of his father, thus Rashid Agha of Jindian is the son of Muhammad 'Ali Agha, and all of his brothers have the same distinction. As far as hierarchy is concerned, beg, as in Mahmud Beg of the Baradost tribe, appears to have greater weight than agha, but there is no definite system. The investigator suspects, in view of some of the confusion in this regard, that titles are given very much as proper names at the time of birth. On the other hand, commoners never use them, even as names, and noblewomen have no such designations, although words such as amira, "princess," or khan, "chieftain," may appear in their appellations.

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The chieftain, to a large extent, is the symbol of his people's honor, tribesmen or tenants, and this is a matter of supreme importance to both Arab and Kurd. Honor has a large number of aspects of which the most important are the obligation of vengeance, safeguard and sanctuary, the integrity of women, and hospitality. If a man has been murdered, it is incumbent on his relatives to avenge his death, and this is the beginning of the vendetta or blood-feud. The peaceful solution is the payment of badalkhwin or blood-money, an amount calculated in goods or cash, but

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usually there is speedy recourse to arms and a vendetta 622 628 can extend over decades and count scores of victims. In the case of commoners, the chieftains of the people involved often intervene, and sometimes pay the bedelkhwin from their own purses, but, failing this, they are expected to aid in obtaining revenge. In the case of aristocratic households, the matter is not settled so easily, although, in rare situations, a third neutral party, a great chieftain known for his piety and justice, may be asked to arbitrate. The most famous feud of the district 628 was that between the Houses of Isma'il Beg and Nuri Bawil Agha, beginning in the days of the first World War, temporarily at an end with the murder of the former and the life imprisonment of the latter. There were many casualties on both sides, and several of the participants are still in prison, such as Isma'il Beg's bailiff, and the two uncles of his mother, Lali Khan, Mustafa Agha and Zirar Agha. Although Rowandus is non-tribal and is not bound to this or that chieftain, the townsmen took sides in the quarrel, mostly on that of Isma'il Beg, and the quarrel lingers on. The party of Nuri Bawil Agha has now practically disappeared, and his son, Karim Agha, who resides in the town, does not dare approach the vicinity of Isma'il Beg's house from fear of further reprisal.

The vendetta has been one of the foremost features of Kurdish life for centuries, and, in spite of its toll in lives, has something of the aspect of a game or sport. Unless commoners or whole tribes are involved, most of the casualties are sustained by the chieftains and their bodyguards, a sort of exchange of assassinations, and there is nothing which might be termed "total warfare." If a chieftain is engaged in a feud with another, he does not ordinarily try to kill off the other's peasantry or destroy their crops, but rather attempts the ambush of his adversary or that person's immediate relatives and followers. There are several examples to indicate that feuding parties do not like the idea of decisive contests. The causes of such conflicts are extremely varied, although women are said to be one of the most frequent, and are often trivial. The government, insisting on its own justice, has a great deal of trouble with these affairs, and, at the same time, has used them to its own advantage. One of the chief reasons for the failure of Kurdish revolts over the years has been the fact that the leaders are just as interested in the overthrow of each other as in that of the government. Mahmud Beg of the Baradost tribe performed welcome service in aiding the defeat of Mulla Mustafa's abortive rebellion, not because of his loyalty, which need not be questioned, but because of an old feud. It is interesting that certain persons treat their relations with the government in the same way, that is, as a matter between families, carrying on what might be classified as private vendettas with the authorities. If one's brother has been hung or imprisoned, the next step is the assassination of a policeman, not necessarily the

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constables who apprehended the culprit or the judge who pronounced sentence, but "any member of the government tribe." Quite a number of this last type of feud come to light from time to time, and in 1951 one "brigand" near [illegible] is credited with having disposed of numerous policemen, not primarily occupied with his capture, but engaged in their customary duties. 628 668

Europeans or Americans are apt to lose sight of the deadly nature, sport or not, of the Kurdish vendetta, particularly, as is often the case nowadays, when it is coupled with politics. The investigator was seated one evening in the "club" in Rowanduz with Sayyid Ahmed of Batas, a son of Sheykh Taha, and one of his bodyguards. Sayyid Ahmed was not directly concerned in the Rowanduz feud, but he was a regular guest of Lali Khan and his sympathies lay with the House of Isma'il Beg. It was interesting to notice that when Karim Agha, the son of Nuri Bawil Agha, and hence a possible enemy, entered the garden, Sayyid Ahmed quickly loosened the holster of his pistol and his follower automatically took up a strategic position behind the new visitor, leaning against a wall. On another evening, Sayyid Ahmed forbade, with some violence of expression, a well-meaning person who wished to accompany him across an exposed meadow with a lantern, again, a simple precaution. This atmosphere of violence is an everyday feature of life in Rowanduz, but it must be stressed that actual danger does not in any way extend to the common people nor, under normal circumstances, the 628 government personnel. It would be easy for an outsider to 628 romanticize this situation, and this would not be far from wrong, for the Kurds do the same themselves. The chieftain 622 is the summation of a peasant's ideals, a formidable warrior, unrelenting in vengeance, generous in hospitality, and gallant in conduct. An aristocratic youth is educated to play this part. It would be difficult to find many peoples among whom the hero, so defined, has so extensive a daily role and so general and attentive an audience. A number of persons in the Rowanduz area, queried on this point, were unable to name more than one or two chieftains of the aristocratic group, perhaps two or three hundred men in all, who had not been imprisoned or exiled by the government at least once.

Safeguard, as in the case of revenge, is a matter 484 of aristocratic honor. Formerly, anyone who wished to pass 579 through a chieftain's territory was expected to put himself under the latter's protection, because, failing this, he became more or less fair game for bandits or, indeed, the chieftain himself. In past decades brigandage, like assassination, was something of a sport, and holding up a caravan was considered an amusing, as well as lucrative, occupation for the aristocracy. The luckless merchant could only apply to the chieftain for his goods which, in consideration of a fee, were "recovered" and returned to him. The easiest technique, of course, was to obtain right to passage at first, at the expense of a few gifts, and a number of the chieftain's men would be delegated as guards.

for the Kurds themselves, safeguard had a more important application. If a man was a member of a group engaged in a vendetta, and had to pass through dangerous territory, he could put himself under the protection of a neutral group whose men provided him with an escort and, should he be killed, was obligated to avenge his death just as if he had been one of its own. 628 577 618

Sanctuary is something of major importance among the Kurds. If a man had committed a crime, usually a murder, he could throw himself on the mercy of the nearest chieftain and the latter was bound by honor to protect him from his pursuers. Often the chieftain paid the [illegible] or blood-money to the injured parties, although unrelated to them or to the criminal, as a generous gesture. Of greater interest, perhaps, the chieftain provided sanctuary for runaway lovers. If a youth and a maiden fall in love and their parents forbade the match, they sometimes fled together, and, if captured by their irate relatives, would be slain. It is said that the first thing for such fugitives to do is to have intercourse, as they cannot be separated except by death, for a woman who has lost her virginity out of wedlock must be killed by her kinsmen. If the pair were able to reach a chieftain, the latter now acted as a matchmaker. He sought out the parents of the girl, informed them that their daughter was under his protection, attempted to reconcile them to the marriage, by this time consummated, and often paid the dowry of the bride, again, as a matter

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of generosity. Commoners are not in a position to quarrel with a chieftain, and the problem was usually solved in this way. The youth was summoned and kissed the hand of his reluctant father-in-law, addressing him as a parent. If, however, the fugitive couple belonged to aristocratic houses, the most complex of vendettas could follow. 633 634 584

The integrity of its women is perhaps the primary count of a family's honor. If a Kurd insults anything other than the women of his opponent, he is in danger of being slain himself. If, however, he seriously questions the honor of a woman, the latter must be killed by her relatives, not the accuser. The accusation is thus extremely dangerous, and, although it is sometimes heard in joking exchanges, a serious accusation cannot be taken lightly. The honor of a man depends very much on that of his female relatives, and the primary rule in this sexual regard is that no woman, unmarried or married, can have unseemly traffic, specifically intercourse, with any other person than her husband. If a bride cannot demonstrate her virginity, she can be returned to her relatives who are obligated to slay her, although she is not thus sent to them in every case. Similarly, if there is an accusation of adultery, a wife can be directed to the same fate. The woman, it might be said, is always the offender. It follows that if a woman errs in this way and is detected, she must flee, either to a chieftain or 577 562 578 [684] [585] 684 562 to the great cities, and even in these places she feels far from secure. While this concept is common to families of any class of society, it reaches its apogee among those of the aristocracy. If the daughter of a commoner runs away, he may be unable or unwilling to do anything about it, but a chieftain, as the personification of his people's honor, is more or less bound to exact justice. Thus insulting the integrity of a noblewoman can also result in violence. 589 562 626 684 633

Finally, hospitality is a necessary concomitant of a chieftain's honor, and an ideal of all. "To be a chieftain," it was said, "a man must belong to a noble house, must be followed by armed men, and must have a guest-room." Hence the aristocratic houses maintain *diwankhana* which vary considerably in size and form according to their station. In some cases it is only a few rooms within the house and in others a separate building. Some chieftains have large tents pitched as guest-rooms in the summer. In furnishings and service the aristocratic guest-room does not differ from that described in the preceding section, and the distinction between it and the *diwankhana* of, say, a wealthy merchant, is that it must always be open to strangers, no matter what their station in life. Strictly speaking, the rule of hospitality applies to any Kurdish house, but, outside of emergencies, its usual application is among the aristocrats. One of the functional aspects of the support of the chieftainship appears here. A poor villager cannot entertain a stranger in sumptuous fashion, 574 632 [342] [343] and for this reason he is glad to give a share of his produce, if only that his ruler, the symbol of the group, can show hospitality, which is, in fact, that of the poor villager himself. These aristocratic guest-rooms, in addition to providing food and shelter for whoever seeks them, are used to some extent as a clubhouse for the men, and a commoner, tribesman or tenant, can appear during the day for tea, tobacco, and the latest gossip. The chieftains themselves use them for what, in want of a better term, might be called their "courts," where they entertain friends and visitors, hear the complaints and news of their people, and direct their various activities. The etiquette of entering such a guest-room is exactly like that described above for a chaikhana, or tea-shop, and the activity is much the same, talking and smoking, although the atmosphere is more solemn and the refreshments gratis. As in the case of the Arab Bedouin, a stranger may enjoy hospitality unchallenged for three days, and after this period the chieftain, while he does not send him away, may ask his name and his errand. Questioning the hospitality of a chieftain, which constitutes a reflection on his people, is an extremely grave insult, and can also provide the basis of a feud. Thus visitors in a remote district must avail themselves of the chieftain's guest-room, for, if they do not, it may be thought an insult is intended. Speaking of a party of strangers in the Baradost country, a Kurd said, "It is necessary for them

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to let Mahmud Beg know of their presence and visit his 622
diwankhana, or he will think they look down on his hospitali- 579
ty, or, worse, do not know him or recognize him as a
chieftain."

Save for the question of hospitality, it may be seen 473
from the section on administration that the government 649
takes a strong interest in chieftains' activities. The state lays claim to all unregistered land, miri, which includes a large amount of "tribal" and village territory, and would prefer to collect taxes directly from the producers, thus cutting off the most important source of aristocratic revenue. Some of the chieftains, abreast of the times, have attempted to have tribal lands registered in their own names. The execution of the law belongs to 619
the government, either the civil code of the judge or the 692
tribal code of the aghawat. Vengeance is also of the [692]
state, and homicides are to be handled by the police and the courts, rather than the vendetta. Safeguard and sanctuary in a well-policed district are thought to be unnecessary. Modern Iraq is in concept democratic, and [554]
such titles as agha, beg, or shaikh, while they are widely used, do not enjoy the sanction of law. The army and the constabulary are thought adequate to handle military exigencies, and the arming of a populace, particularly parties of bodyguards, is considered superfluous, if not dangerous. Thus the Kurdish aristocracy has lost many of 525
its important functions and perogatives. They are no longer 178
leaders in war or administrators, and much of their

economic wealth has been cut from beneath them. In an ideal situation, they may survive only as landowners and as they are able to obtain positions in the government. The situation, however, is far from ideal, and in practice many continue as their forebears, side by side with the new competitions. It cannot be denied that they accord the government considerable aid in the maintenance of order, and, at the same time, provide it with great anxiety in their private warfare and political thought. 565 [178]

This Kurdish aristocracy is by no means feeble in the face of such competition, and has the advantage of popular support and sympathy, particularly, as has been seen, because it represents a highly idealized group. It has been said that the Kurds are easy prey to doctrinaire philosophies, specifically Communism, but among them, save in certain of the well-educated, there is no knowledge or sign of what may be called a "class struggle," or, in other terms, the rich or privileged against the poor. The struggle is strictly between Kurdish society as a whole and what they consider an alien system. The investigator has talked at length with a number of dissatisfied Kurdish youths, as well as others in whom such sentiments might be expected, and has heard much of "good" chieftains and "bad" chieftains, but never the aristocracy condemned as such. It must not be thought that the speech of this aristocratic group is "reactionary," in the sense of opposition to modern innovations and the desire to return to older ways. Such things as automobiles, modern firearms, wirelesses, and 565 648 177 186 any technical device within their means have been assimilated with alacrity. European and American medical goods are eagerly sought, and there is almost a childlike faith in the wonders of the Western World. "We are," said an *agha*, "more of this area a Switzerland of the Middle East." The less well-informed, whose knowledge only extends to the Mediterranean, say the same thing, having reference to Lebanon. Insofar as family life is concerned, the Kurds, comparing themselves to the Arabs, point with pride to their "more enlightened" treatment of women in terms of the veil and social intercourse, but one is dubious of any wider extent of this liberality. In short, the Kurdish aristocracy represents an extremely active class, untroubled by most aspects of Westernization, but weakened by their own dissentions and threatened by the encroachment of a new government. It seems impossible, in view of so many variables, to predict whether or not they will be able to maintain their integrity. 177 186 186 563 565 178 177

Inasmuch as they represent the first system in which the only significant division is between aristocrat and commoner, the Kurdish chieftains of the Rowanduz area are often uneducated and wear the national costume as it has been described in the preceding section. Only a moderate number from this group have obtained higher education and have subsequently entered the government service. Many, indeed, are illiterate and have no knowledge of Arabic, the language of the government. In Rowanduz only three aristocratic houses are represented, those of Isma'il 622 565 [590] [571] [112] [191] ily, Nuri Bawil Agha, and Sadiq Agha. Because that of Nuri Bawil Agha has suffered adverse fortunes, the House of Sama'il Bey, headed by Said Khan, has the greatest interest in the town, owning considerable property therein. Sadiq Agha and his brother As'ad Agha have a house in the town, but their property consists of a village elsewhere in the district. The House of Muhammed 'Ali Agha might be mentioned, for it is nearby at *Jindian*, and its sons, such as Rashid Agha, spend much of their time in the town. The chieftains, not only of these families but of the district at large, enter into daily life to a large extent. They provide a constant source of gossip and, to some extent, revenue, for they are everyday visitors to the town and make many of their purchases there. One might inquire how young chieftains such as Karim Agha, the son of Nuri Bawil Agha, or Rashid Agha of *Jindian*, spend their day, and the answer is that they do very little aside from visiting friends or strolling about the town, sometimes accompanied by bodyguards. Conversation accounts for a great deal of their time. The chieftains' relations with the government personnel are cordial, although they have nothing in common with the younger officials and officers. An interesting meeting took place between Sayyid Ahmed of Barzan and the army officer, Colonel Khalid Naqshbandi, who had captured him during the last revolt and sent him into exile in southern Iraq. Both parties were amused at the meeting, and treated each other with the best of humor, Sayyid Ahmed,

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in contempt to the government, treating such affairs more as sport rather than anything else. Sayyid Ahmed subsequently recounted with some pleasure his experiences in exile, for he did not speak Arabic at the time. He heard the official in charge of him, for example, called "stupid" behind his back by subordinates, and concluded that this was his name, always addressing the unfortunate officer as "Stupid Bey" until he was finally corrected. In order to designate the type of meat he desired for his meals, he was forced to resort to imitations of the animals in question, and thought his own picture, that of a Kurdish aristocrat, a son of the great Shaykh Taha, flapping his arms and crowing to a bewildered Arab orderly, most amusing. 632 448 [C12]

Toward the commonpeople, the chieftains are much more friendly, calling them by name and spending long hours talking with those of higher status, such as wealthy merchants. They are not fond of either the chaikhana or the mosque, although one occasionally finds them there. Insofar as they do not marry within their own families, they prefer the daughters of the wealthy merchants and landowners of the town, for these are supposed to be more "refined," and hence to have greater prestige, than any village maiden. The daughter of Ra'uf Effendi, for example, is married to an aristocrat from elsewhere in the district, Agha Rashid Agha (the first agha here used as a proper name). Among themselves, there is extensive community of interest and 632 565 [302] 565 632 572 social exchange, extending beyond the district itself, according to certain alignments. Lali Khan always has a number of visitors, such as Sayyid Ahmed and his brothers, and the same is true, to a lesser extent, of Sadiq Agha. These alignments, systems of sorts, are formed on the basis of old feuds, family friendships, political attachments, and the like. Normally the guests of Sadiq Agha are not to be seen at the house of Isma'il Beg, and the reverse is true, although there need be no ill-feeling between the two groups. To draw up a chart of these matters would be complex and of little value, inasmuch as they are perpetually changing and are vast in number. To give some examples, Karim Agha never visits the house of Isma'il Beg because of a feud, nor those of Sayyid Ahmed and his brothers because the latter are friends of Lali Khan. His own friend, a Khoshnaw agha (out of Shaqlawa) calls on Sadiq Agha, but does not visit Lali Khan or Sayyid Ahmed because of his friendship with Karim Agha. Mahmud Beg of the Baradost is friendly with Sayyid Ahmed, but has nothing to do with Sadiq Agha, and hence Karim Agha and his friend, because he does not sympathize with a feud in which Sadiq Agha was involved. To extend the matter further, Karim Agha does not patronize merchants in the bazar who are friends or clients of Lali Khan. Similarly, Sayyid Ahmed, whenever he visits the town, has no traffic with those who favor Karim Agha. This network of friendships and alliances among the aristocracy is an important feature of their life, but it need not extend to the

[illegible]

[illegible]

townspeople themselves, or to the government personnel, although most of the details are commonplace. Marriages between aristocratic houses often follow these alignments, although now and then a wedding is arranged which will join two houses not normally friendly toward each other. A chieftain with a number of daughters and sufficient wealth and prestige to attract suitors can build up quite a system of allies, thus increasing his own power, and the same can be done with a number of sons. 623 566 572 [582]

Turning to the townspeople, who in the first system constitute the mass of commoners, a rather confused social hierarchy is revealed. Several concepts are responsible for this, the first of which is that it is considered degrading for men of the "upper" class to work with their hands. The group of persons who are not so tainted, in addition to the aristocracy, officials, and officers, thus includes among the people of the town the clerks, landowners, _mullas_ or priests, and businessmen, such as the wealthier merchants and the owners of the _chaikhanas_ and the hotel. Such a person is termed _effendi_ or "gentleman," and occupies the highest ranks of the commoner group. Two examples are provided by Shakir Effendi and Ma'ruf Effendi, both landowners. In addition to their properties, Shakir Effendi is the clerk of the judge's court and Ma'ruf Effendi is the _mukhtar_ or representative of the townspeople. The chief _mulla_ of the town is addressed as "Mulla 'Abd-al-Karim Effendi." Literacy, a distinctive requirement of the 565 [564] [576] [603] [312] upper class in the second system, is unnecessary for this group. Ra'uf Effendi, for example, cannot read or write, although he can sign his name and speaks four languages fluently. It is with these "partial" commoners that there is intermarriage among the aristocracy, although commoners can never attain the rank of a chieftain. The bases of the class are either wealth or literacy. A mulla can be extremely poor and still enjoy the distinction. It might be mentioned that the lowest class of civil servants, the clerks, as well as Christians and Jews, if wealthy, are addressed by the same term elsewhere in Iraq. A teacher, however, does not always like to be called effendi because he has had a college or university education, and, as rather [illegible] poorly paid, belongs to the educated upper class of the second system. 565 [561] [563] [575]

Rowanduz is non-tribal and does not, as a whole, owe allegiance to any particular chieftain, although the house of Isma'il Beg owns a great part of the town. "We do not belong to tribes," Ra'uf Effendi explained, "although perhaps our ancestors did, but we have no knowledge of them." Persons of the lower classes, transients or migrants from the villages, may, of course, retain such affiliations. In Ottoman times, Rowanduz enjoyed an independence, just as it does today, from tribal or feudal obligations. The wealthy merchants of the town, particularly those engaged in the lucrative caravan trade with Iran, were called chalabis, another Turkish term for "gentleman," [610] [611] 565 175 [illegible] into classes. In imitation of the aristocracy, many of the most powerful [illegible] [illegible] of armed men and [illegible] open to the public, and one might compare them to the "merchant princes" of other lands, for example, the burghers of Medieval Germany. They were, in fact, a pseudo-aristocracy. After the end of the [illegible], the First World War, and the decline of trade, this class suffered greatly in numbers and in wealth, although it is still represented by such persons as [illegible] in the group of commoners designated [illegible]. One example of the manner in which the [illegible] and their modern successors have assumed the functions of the [illegible] is illustrated by [illegible]. In [illegible] a girl of the town, detected in illicit relations with a young man, took refuge in [illegible]'s house. He protected her and arranged her marriage with the youth in question, with, one might add, the help of the police. One of the chief characteristics of this highest commoner group is its mobility, for any person who has obtained great wealth can add himself to it, just as those whose fortunes have declined can lose the distinction.

The second concept operating to form a hierarchy in the commoner group is the distinction between skilled and unskilled labor. The lesser merchants and craftsmen, as one might expect, are of a higher status than common laborers. This group of more favored persons includes the carpenters, cloth-sellers, cobblers, masons, poorer shopkeepers, tailors, and merchants. Of slightly lower rank than these are the artists and those engaged in providing food, the bakers, butchers, and meat-dressers. As had been seen, the meat-cutter or *paekchong* is considered lowly indeed. In the lowest category are to be found the [illegible] or illiterate coolies and unskilled labor, the bootblacks, the porters and carriers, and the servants. Those engaged by the government, for example, the police, parallel this system. Ordinary policemen have the equivalent status of an unskilled laborer, while the non-commissioned officers enjoy that of the lesser merchants and craftsmen. The third concept, which acts to establish a spectrum ranging from *yangban* to the lowliest menial, is the question of relative wealth. A person with a great amount of money or property, in spite of his calling, may enjoy the prestige of one who does not work with his hands. Thus to determine the status of any person within the commoner group, one must ask three questions, whether or not he labors with his hands, if so, the type of his work, and the extent of his wealth. 563 565 [635] 556 565

Within the group of townspeople, although one is usually deferential in contact to a person of higher status, these things do not have as much importance in everyday etiquette as in marriage and in friendship. In both of the systems outlined, the great cleavages have been indicated as the gulfs between aristocrat and commoner and between educated and uneducated, but, aside from these, there is an extremely delicate appraisal of relative equality. Judged 565

in terms of the three questions just noted above. While 565
in principle a man must marry in his own or a higher status, 557
defined by employment and wealth, there is a constant 565 584
struggle on the part of parents to arrange marriages for
their offspring which will be socially advantageous. This
mobility, which has a moderate degree of realization, does
not exist for the opposite ends of the spectrum, for
example, the sons and daughters of a wealthy merchant would
never wed those of a servant, but is rather to be found
among those who neighbor each other in quality. The same 565
things are true of masculine friendship, such as calling 572
at an acquaintance's house. In America the officials of
a company may visit each other and in other ways express
their friendship, but an executive does not normally seek
out intimates among his workmen or pay visits to their
homes, just as in Rowandus friends are to be found among
those of comparable status. This is clearly indicated by
jesting. A man can always have a joke at the expense of [522]
an inferior, but never the reverse. "Anwar, you do business
like a child," a merchant said to one below him at a
gathering in a _chaikhana_, evoking general laughter. The
person in question could only shake his head, laughing at
himself, and, of course, immediately sought out someone to
taunt in return nearer his own status. On the other hand, 565
as has been seen, servants, particularly those from the 567
village where almost all belong to the same social stratum,
think of themselves as members of the family, and regularly

advise or scold their employers. 565
[367]

Commoners make up nine-tenths or more of the population
of the town. They are, of course, Kurds, and Kurdish [162]
is their primary tongue. A number of the older men speak [191]
Turkish and Persian, although these are now disappearing,
[291]
and almost everyone commands a few words of Arabic. Their 565
clothing is in the native style. Their relations with the 571
officials and officers are much more extensive than those
of the aristocrats, because many are employed by the government
personnel, and are, on the whole, amicable, depending
on the personality of the official in question. It has been
seen that the doctor and one of the police officers were
heartily disliked. It is interesting that officials are
referred to much as the local aristocracy. Colonel Khalid
Naqshbandi, no aristocrat by birth, was not addressed as
officer, but simply as "Khalid Beg," a commander of the
"government tribe."

Among themselves, the townspeople are governed to 632
some extent by their *mukhtar*, Ra'uf Effendi, and by public 571
opinion. It must be remembered, however, that this is a
population of diverse origins, made up of families of the
Ottoman town, newcomers from other Kurdish cities, such
as Sulaymaniya, and of migrants and transients from the 571
villages. Thus there is little of the solidarity to be 621
found in an agricultural village. It has been noted that [876]
there is no mandatory communal labor, such as helping a
man build his house, but rather optional neighborhood cooperation.
For the townsmen there is no participation in

government, and no civic or charitable organizations, 621 571 guilds, or clubs. The *diwankhana* of the aristocrat, as noted, is often used as a men's clubhouse and a sort of village center, but that of Isma'il Beg in the town is rarely so used, and the mosque or the *shaykhana* offer little as substitutes. In Rowanduz there is thus an aggregate of separate households whose relationships with the government and with each other are largely on an individual basis, and for social life a man depends to a [602] great extent on his relatives and friends. This should not be taken to mean that there is no force to public opinion or community interest. A mutual concern is much in evidence in the public conduct of individuals and in festivals, and a large part of this is furnished by the Muslim faith. In the summer of 1951 a collection was [735] taken up among the townspeople as a pious work for a poor Arab, arrested by the police as a suspected deserter from the army and subsequently released penniless. The effect of public opinion in such matters as the wearing of the veil or smoking on the streets during Ramadan has already been noticed. The distribution of food and clothing to the poor of the town on certain occasions, and other examples of a similar nature, will be encountered in later sections. However, there is no structural bond or concrete rulesof membership which cause the townspeople to act as a whole, although such behavior can often be observed.

In treating the class made up of officials and 565
officers, certain things from the initial discussion in 798
this section may be seen. The first of these are the 186
religious and ethnic divisions. Calling to mind the
distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims, a number of
Christians are to be found in the official class in Rowandus,
for example, the postmaster and several of the teachers.
Because of their religion, these men are at some dis-
advantage among their colleagues. At a gathering to which
one or more Christians have been invited, they may be
embarrassed whenever religious matters are discussed and
are generally limited in the forcefulness of their words,
for they are unable to argue with the fluency of expression
permissible between fellow Muslims. A Christian teacher [872]
cannot castigate his pupils with the freedom of some other,
often to his chagrin, for the students are aware of his
social inferiority. Similarly, an occurrence of the dis-
tinction between Sunnite and Shiite in this class has been
noticed. Of greater importance, however, is the division 525
along national lines between the government class and the 563
two other groups to be found in the town. Both the landed 186
aristocracy and the townspeople are ethnically homogeneous,
while the official class is diverse in its members, made
up of Arabs, Kurds, and Turks, with the first group pro-
viding the greatest numbers. The Turks are little troubled, [576]
but a Kurdish civil servant must be circumspect in his
conduct and exercise some care that he does not exhibit
what might be interpreted as revolutionary sentiments or
behavior.

behavior. The ethnic barrier between the Arab officials 565
and the local inhabitants is by far the most striking. 563
Divisions along lines of locale or tribe have little or 186
no significance for members of the official class, although many of them, especially the Arabs, may belong to the latter type of group, in addition to their local origin. There is a certain amount of banter between natives of Baghdad, Basra, Mosul, or other cities, just as in America much is heard of the rivalry of various cities and states, but it does not operate in any serious way to divide the group. The force connected with tribal affiliations in Iraq appears to be only appropriate in its proper setting, and a pair of officials, members of two tribes engaged in a deadly feud in some rural area, seem to make nothing of it divorced from the actual scene.

Something of the relations of the official class to 647
the aristocracy and the townspeople has already been in- 571
dicated. While a number of the Kurds may regard the 565
government in a poor light, it would be a mistake to assume that they do not have admiration or fondness for certain of the officials. Conversely, it would be equally erroneous to think that many of the officials do not have a paternal affection for their charges. Nevertheless, the whole theory of personal relations between officials and townspeople is based on the thesis that "familiarity breeds contempt," which has a certain amount of validity. An over-friendly mudir might be looked upon with more suspicion and distrust than one who was comfortably distant. Thus the more

highly ranking civil servants and officers never take refreshment in the *chaykhanas* or worship in the town mosques. 565 571 647
They do not visit the homes of the townsmen or attend their festivals, although, being men of substance, they may send [431]
gifts to their Kurdish neighbors on such occasions. The dividing line is to be found in the teachers, who constitute something of a separate group, looked down on by the higher officials and officers and flattered by the townspeople, perhaps, to some extent, because they exercise 875 571 565 626
great control over the destinies of the sons of the town. It is possible to observe a teacher in deep conversation with some respected merchant in the *bazar*. One must digress to report that one of the teachers in Rowandus fell in love with and married a girl of the town, undistinguished either in the wealth or the occupation of her father, much to the delight of her parents and against the advice and scorn of his colleagues and superiors. This created an anamolous, almost unheard-of situation, breaking down, as it did, the barrier between "educated aristocrat" and commoner, and the teacher is still subject to criticism, not solely on the part of the official class, although he shares much more extensively than his fellows in the social life of the townspeople.

647 565 177
One of the most salient characteristics of the official class is that it considers itself, with some justice, to be the most "progressive," not only in Kurdistan but in Iraq at large, judged, to a large extent, in terms

of a college or university education and the relative 565
degree of Westernization. The officials and officers are 447
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all graduates of colleges or academies, either in Iraq or abroad, where many usages of Western civilization are often literally enforced on them by their fellow students. It would be difficult to describe fully the details of this influence, but it may be summed up in what, with certain reservations and qualifications, they consider to be the dress, mannerisms, and thought of a Western gentleman. Thus they wear European clothing, indulge in gaming and
drinking (which, one might note, despite Islam, are by no [183]
means strangers to the region of the Middle East, save that in this case specifically European forms are encountered), and, in general, try to comport themselves in their work and in masculine society as their models abroad.
There are a large number of reservations, a few of which [562]
may be enumerated here. The attitude of an Arab official or officer toward his womenfolk, in a rural setting, is, if anything, more stringent than that of the local aristocrats. None of the officials would consider appearing
before other males nakes[1] or "indecently" clothed, and [834]
almost all consider European toilet habits filthy in the [514]
extreme, water being thought far more hygenic than tissue. A large part of the passion for Westernization stems from a sincere desire, as they envisage it, to better their country, while in others it amounts to pure snobbery. In
the latter category, one can often hear officials, speaking [192]

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[1] [should read: naked. —Analyst]

with each other in Arabic, heavily interlard their speech 565
with English and French words and phrases. The official 647 177
class can, with legitimacy, claim that it is the more [192]
progressive and better educated, but, as if to drive a
wedge between itself and its subjects, the adjective
baladi, "rustic," is used with fluency and condemnation.
As this new "civil elite" continues to assert itself at
the expense of its parallel, the landed chieftains, both
Kurd and Arab, Westernization has become one of its distinctive marks.

Thus thrown back on themselves for these reasons, 571
the distinctions between Arab and Kurd, and between educated and uneducated, and their insistence on "distance," 565 647 563
the officials and officers have of necessity created a
social life of their own, exclusively masculine. A private 529
home in the upper part of the town, whose garden overlooks 517
the gorge, was subsidized as a *nadi* or "club." This building
is of a single storey, built on three sides about a flagged
courtyard which forms the garden, and encloses only several
rooms. Its previous occupant had been an educated *effendi* [795]
whose hobbies were the occult sciences, and he decorated
the walls with snakes and other symbols in paint which
might lead the uninformed observer to erroneous conclusions
in the realm of popular religion. One of the rooms was [352]
furnished with chairs and benches, much as a *diwakhana*,
another had a table and chairs for cards, and a third was
utilized as a kitchen. Two of the townsmen were hired as
servants. In the club one might purchase tea, sherbet, and,

sometimes, alcoholic beverages, and light refreshments, 529
such as nuts, bread, and grilled meat. Activity begins at 517
four or five in the afternoon, and, should a card party [524]
be in session, can remain open into the early hours of the
morning. The rooms and garden are illuminated with lanterns,
and at times an official or officer will loan a [207]
battery-operated radio for entertainment. Aside from
gambling, however, the principle diversion is conversation,
the men seating themselves in little groups according
to their preferences. The conversationalists usually [481]
depart for their homes between nine and ten o'clock in the
evening, one of the servants often accompanying them through
the darkened streets with a lantern. Although not nominally 565
members, persons of the aristocratic Kurdish class occasionally 529
appear in the club, sitting by themselves or with some 563
official of their acquaintance. It has been related how
Sayyid Ahmad and Karim Agha were visitors in the course of
an evening, but such appearances are by no means common, [525]
nor do the aristocrats indulge in gambling. As has been
said, the officials and officers, unless they are Kurds, do [574]
not visit the houses of chieftains. No woman is ever seen [562]
in the club.

Aside from the month of Ramadan, during which most 517
assume the appearance of piety, the chief entertainments 525
of the higher officials and officers are drinking and [273]
gambling. The drinking-party has been described in a
previous section, and is usually associated with a game
of cards.

of cards. The game itself is unvarying, as well as its 517
particular form, poker of the type called "five-card stud" 524
in America, one card dealt downward to the player and the other four up. The usual amount of an individual wager is 525
50 *fils* (about $0.14), and, in a party of eight players, a typical "pot" contains as much as two *dinars* ($5.60). Inasmuch as the salary of any official or officer is not large, it follows that an unskillful person can lose money he can ill afford.[1] The gambling debt is becoming a feature of life for the official class in Iraq. Most of the players, however, are familiar with each other, and it need not be supposed that the Arabs, however new it may be to them, are unskilled in the subtleties of card-games. The games are held either in the *nadi* or in the home of the *qaimmaqam*, and others attend not solely to play, but to drink and to hold conversation. In addition, the officers
play a form of "bingo" for small stakes in their mess, and [524]
one or two of them often arrange a cock fight, either of a [541]
pair of roosters or of *chikaw*, the mountain partridge, on which there is heavy betting.

The official class, the upper stratum in the second 565
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system, differs significantly from its parallel in the

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[1] The salary of a typical *mudir*, the administrative official of a *nahiya*, the smallest unit, is about twenty dinars ($56.00 per month and 240 *dinars* ($672.00) per year. This is about the same income as that of the merchant Fatah-Ullah, mentioned above. The *mudir*, however, is given free quarters and other allowances, and receives an increase in pay every three years until he reaches the rank of a *qaimmaqam*. It can be seen how such an official feels that he cannot immediately afford marriage. [465]

first in the matter of hospitality. For both aristocrats and commoners of the first system, the doors of the house are theoretically always open to guests or travelers, no matter what the station in society of either host or visitor. Thus, a peasant or a shepherd is unashamed to have someone of higher rank in his home, and what little he possesses in the way of food, drink, and shelter is willingly offered. Conversely, no person of the lower classes is disturbed by availing himself of the hospitality of a chieftain, although, of course, he does not expect the ceremony expended on a superior. This is by no means unique in Kurdistan, but can be discovered in almost any rural area of the Middle East. For officials and officers the situation is somewhat different, because they are forcefully governed by a principle of reciprocation, a matter of personal honor, in effect that a man cannot accept the hospitality of another unless he can return it in kind. To give one of a large number of illustrations, a party was given by the governor of Nasariya, attended only by five other men of the town who were possessed of the means to entertain the governor in a similar fashion. The governor had asked a minor official, and, when this person failed to appear, went to the extent of sending his automobile after him. When the official in question finally arrived, he made a hurried excuse, "the illness of his wife," and again departed. The reason, clear to all those present, was that his meager salary did not permit him to accept the governor's

invitation, because he could not repay it. This minor 565
official was not a subordinate of the governor. In 574
Rowandus this principle operates to limit visiting among
officials of different rank, although the matter is [529]
partially solved by the club and the qaimmaqam. The latter
simply orders the attendance of those of his subordinates
he wishes present at a gathering, and they are thus able
to attend without inconvenience to their honor. Generally 565
speaking, the official class of the town has three cliques, 573
those persons who can afford gambling and drinking and who 574
are interested in these pastimes, those who have the means
but are not interested, and those whose pay does not permit
them such luxuries. This last group is largely made up [895]
of teachers who have gatherings of their own, visiting in
each other's rooms and exchanging meals. The qaimmaqam
and other high officials are sensitive to the financial
difficulties of the teachers, and do not include them in
their invitations or "orders" for an evening's entertainment.

Two demands of etiquette, although they may 576
occasionally be observed in all ranks of society in the 754
town, are to be found in a heightened form in the behavior
of members of the official class. The first of these is
that it is considered impolite to admire too vociferously
anything belonging to another. In the case of children
or houses, the rationalization is that this will bring
catastrophe to the admired object, because such remarks
can unwittingly conceal the malice of the evil eye, or

tempt God to bring destruction to the owner. In the case 576
of smaller articles, it is more or less mandatory for the [754]
owner to present the item in question to the admirer as a 431 576
gift. A large number of cigarette-lighters, rosaries, walking-sticks, and the like change hands in exactly this fashion. The second is much more marked, the exhibition of deference to a superior or an equal. This can be seen in two persons of equal standing who wish to enter a room, for they will stand before the door, bowing each other in, until one seizes the other by the arm and makes him precede by main force. The same is true of refreshments or tobacco. If one official produces cigarettes, the second will bring out his own and a wrangle usually ensues until there is an exchange. An identical process is gone through in lighting the tobacco, often with grotesque attitudes as two men hold out lighted matches for each other's cigarettes. The Kurdish populace, aristocrats and commoners, are less punctilious in these matters than the officials, and suffer less inconvenience.

To this point the greater part of these remarks have 571 562
been largely pertinent to masculine society alone, and the [114]
investigator confesses to some failing in treating that of women. There are, it seems, certain aspects of feminine society on which the townsmen themselves cannot speak with authority, a deficit of information which could easily be filled by an observer of the female sex. However, it is possible to make a number of valid observations which must

suffice until further investigation is able to furnish a 562
more complete account. Save in the lowest classes of 571
society, mature women, those of the officials and officers, the aristocrats, and the wealthier townsmen, are generally restricted to the interior of their houses, and none can mix freely with society at large. It is more or less inevitable that such women have their friends and visitors among the female relatives of their fathers' and husbands' families, for only these can visit each other's houses without restriction. Because marriages are arranged be- [582]
tween persons on a basis of comparable status, a woman's friends, like those of her husband, are close to her in rank. However, women of the upper classes are much more democratic in most respects in their demeanor toward inferiors of the same sex than their husbands are toward theirs, and spend long hours in intimate conversation with [521]
female servants, seamstresses and laundresses. The latter are, in fact, an important link with the outside world of the town, inasmuch as they are able to intermingle with others of the lower classes and hence provide the mistress of a wealthy household with welcome news and gossip. The lot of the wives of the officials and officers is much more difficult, because their friends and relatives have been left elsewhere in Iraq, and there is almost no means of making new acquaintances in the town. They, too, find pleasure in the conversation of their maids, Arab or Kurd, and, with the knowledge of the husbands concerned, may visit

the wives of other officials, although this is far from a 562
common practice. The wife of an official can be extremely 571
lonely as far as feminine companionship is concerned. Towns-
women of the lower classes suffer no such inconveniences,
and associate with each other with great freedom. There is [346]
a mosque for women alone in the town, frequented by those [521]
of the lower classes, and is said by the townsmen to be
used more as a clearing-house for idle talk than for pious
exercises.

If the society of adults in Rowandus has its hierarchy, 858
there is a very real, but short-lived, democracy for the 565
children. The youngsters of all, officials, aristocrats 657
and townspeople, play with each other without any reference
to the ranks of their parents, and choose their leaders in
the same way. The son of a servant can be "chieftain" over
his fellows, and the daughter of a laborer the arbiter of
her playmates. This stage passes without any apparent
difficulty as the exigencies of life call them to different
tasks, some to school and others to work in their fathers'
shops. New friendships, better fitted to the demands of [572]
relative status, replace those of childhood. It need not
be thought, however, that these early alliances do not
extend into later life, although such acquaintances do
not visit each other's homes.

In concluding this section, it is possible to re- 619
late the society of Rowandus not only to that of the town 648
in Ottoman times, but to Iraq and the Middle East at large,
and to present several observations of some importance.

The heart of the matter is to be found in the distinction 619
between a society governed by the state and one ruled by 648
tribal or feudal chieftains. The state is no stranger to
the area of the Middle East, for it was in this province [174]
that it probably made its first appearance and some of
the more complex bureaucracies of history were evolved.
Nevertheless, there are certain places, Kurdistan among
them, where it is a newcomer, and others, such as Saudi
Arabia, where it has yet to appear. Ottoman control in
Kurdistan was rarely strong, and was characterized by a
sort of daily contest between the scattered authorities,
supported by their troops and gendarmes, and the local
inhabitants in matters of tax-collection and recruitment
for the army. Beyond the borders of Turkey and other well-organized
districts, the Ottoman Empire was largely oriented
for tribute, the enrichment of its officers and the Sublime
Porte, and the Turks, aside from their inroads and
the prestige attached to conquerors, did little to tamper
with the economy and the social structure of their subjects.
Rowandus, before the first World War, was led by
its aristocrats and its merchants, and the meager representation
of Ottoman rule was regarded as an everyday annoyance
which could be circumvented, bribed, or ambushed as
the occasion demanded. Insofar as the Turks were satisfied [609]
with what little money and recruits they were able to collect,
they were not considered greatly detrimental to life.

The rise of the modern state in Iraq provides in 177 619
places such as Rowandus, good examples of the impingement 648

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of a new system of society on one that is older. At the beginning of this section, these two systems were outlined, the "primitive" one headed by a hereditary aristocracy and the "civilized" one by an educated group which includes property-owners, professional men, and a government cadre. The first is represented in the Rowandus district by the Kurdish chieftains and the second by the officials and officers of the central government. The second system is not wholly strange to the area, for the Turks, and perhaps others before them, conditioned the Kurdish populace to the concept of alien rule, if such control was only desultory. The new monarchy, however, first in British and later in Arab hands, introduced a strong administration, something quite new, which, despite a series of revolts, penetrated almost all phases of popular life. This, as has been seen, has resulted in the displacement of the local aristocracy, a process which has been completed in some places and in others is only beginning. The same conflict, with varying results, can be observed elsewhere in Iraq and in the Middle East. Among the "Marsh Arabs" of the southern provinces, for example, there is a bitter conflict between the local _shaykhs_ and the government in matters of land ownership and the collection of taxes. The "Marsh Arabs" also have a record of revolt, and, like the Kurds, have had many of their chieftains imprisoned or exiled, such as Shaykh Salim of the Bani As'ad tribe, still in exile at Baquba.

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Rowanduz, as a minor administrative and mercantile 621
center, stands almost midway between the agricultural 565
village and the great city. Its populace is divided into 632
three groups, the Kurdish aristocrats, the townsmen, and 177
the official class. It is here, rather than in the villages,
that the displacement of the aristocracy is more clearly
in evidence. In Ottoman times the divisions of society
were stabilized. There was little motive or means for
the son of a townsman to become a civil servant, although
this occasionally took place, and it was impossible, as it
still is, to become an aristocrat. The addition of the
officials and officers of modern Iraq, a "new elite," and,
in particular, the institution of schools which makes [557]
entrance possible, has radically altered this arrangement.
It is now theoretically within the reach of any townsman
to have a son enter the ranks of the official class, and
it is for this reason that they insist so avidly on the
education of their heirs, placing high hopes on their
success in the schools. Strictly speaking, the society
of the town is disjointed, for the townsmen continue to [186]
regard the official class as alien, and have adopted little
of their dress and manners. On the other hand, they have
been quick to realize that the new system offers an opportunity
for social advancement and are eager for their [557]
children to take advantage of it. In short, the townspeople
have been absorbed into the second system, although
the first continues to operate elsewhere in the district,

as in the case of Mahmud Beg of the Baradost who rules as did his forebears, and must be counted as a factor in everyday life. It is thus that one finds a duality of thought and behavior as far as the two aristocracies are concerned. A landowner in Rowandus spoke of the chieftains as though they were the only important element in society and, at the same time, alternately praised and castigated two of his sons for their respective success and failure in school. The youth who had failed was regarded as a great disappointment, a condemnation which would not have occurred fifty years ago when the upper echelons of society were either inaccessible or unconnected with the prestige and power of the new servants of the state.

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CHAPTER VI

THE FAMILY

In treating the families of Rowandus, it is un- 121
necessary to describe in detail those of the official 563
class, for the officials and officers are of diverse ethnic 617
origins, Arab, Kurd, and Turk, and they are often unmarried or unaccompanied by their wives. Even when settled temporarily in the town with a spouse, they represent only in part the larger social units to which they belong elsewhere in Iraq. None of the officials and officers has yet made Rowandus a permanent residence. It is thus possible, making reference to the officials whenever necessary, to direct attention to the Kurdish populace, aristocrats and commoners. It has been chosen to treat the family of a wealthy merchant as typical, and to draw comparisons with others from this central treatment.

It is important at the outset to define what is 596
understood by the Kurdish "family." For the townspeople, 592
the term most regularly used is *mal*, "house," (perhaps from Arabic, *mal*, "property"). The word is alternately used for the physical structure itself or for the group of kindred to be found in such a dwelling. Postmarital 591
residence is normally patrilocal, the groom taking his bride to his father's house or to a new dwelling furnished

by himself or his paternal relatives. If, however, the 591
children of two brothers who live under the same roof
marry, the newly-wedded pair may remain at home. The 596
people who might thus be expected to be found in the *mal*
or "house" may include a man and his wife, his paternal
grandparents, his paternal uncles and their wives, his unmarried
paternal aunts, his parents, his brothers and their
wives, his unmarried sisters, and the children of the males
of this group, boys and unmarried girls. Strictly speaking,
such a unit has little realization among the townspeople.
There is a strong prejudice against unmarried adults, both
male and female, and most girls leave their parental home [591]
for that of a husband soon after reaching maturity. When
there is more than one son, it is commonplace for the younger,
when he marries or soon afterward, to occupy a new establishment,
provided either by his own labor or by a subsidy
from his parents. For the lower classes, the size of the
dwelling precludes too extensive a gathering. The household
of Shakir Effendi is made up of Shakir Effendi, his
wife, three sons, a daughter-in-law, a grandson, and a
number of servants. Shakir Effendi's daughter is married
and lives in the home of her husband. Ra'uf Effendi's
son died in childhood, a victim of the "evil eye," and [754] [761]
his *mal* thus contains only himself, his wife, his two
unmarried daughters, and the servants. The aristocratic
establishment of Muhammad 'Ali Agha of Jindian is much
like these, save that one of the sons has already been
provided with a separate domicile.

The mal, as a group of kindred, is thus a fluid patrilineal unit which can range from a single couple and their children to a much more numerous ensemble. It only includes male maternal relatives in cases of exceptional emergency. A man who finds himself without paternal relatives and left destitute for some reason may seek temporary shelter with his sister's husband. Similarly, a widow whose deceased husband's relatives cannot care for her and her children normally applies to her father or brother. Only in cases such as these are males belonging to another mal to be found in the household. The mal is not strictly a named group, although one can, for example, speak of the "Mali Shakir Effendi," referring, on one hand, to his house, and, on the other, to his family. The Kurds do not use family names, and, because of the immediate result of most marriages in forming new units, commoners rarely keep track of collateral relatives beyond the degree of first cousin or trace the direct patrilineal line more than one or two generations. The point of reference is usually one's father or one's son. One of the sons of Shakir Effendi is formally termed Aziz Shakir Hajjrin (the last is a nickname of his father), and the same person is occasionally called "Baba Nawzad," the father of Nawzad, from the name of his son, the second practice exactly like that of the Arabs. The mal can be endogamous or exogamous. The preferred match is between the children of two brothers, and, if both occupy the same house, marriage is thus within the mal-group. Otherwise, many marriages are arranged between unrelated families.

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unrelated families. For the townspeople, then, the *mal* is both a building and the group of relatives who live therein. A townsman who occupies a new dwelling, although he retains his connection with his parental home and may speak of himself as a member of that *mal*, has formed a new unit which becomes a *mal* in the social sense in its own right. 596

The matter of the chieftains and a few large and wealthy families of social pretension is otherwise. It is customary, as in the case of commoners, to refer to an aristocratic household as a *mal*, for example, the "House of Isma'il Beg," 613 but a chieftain belongs to a *familiya*, an extended patrilineal group in which a much wider and more exact accounting of kin relationships is kept. The chief- [622] tains, as has been said, are, with the exception of *sayyids* or descendants of the Tribe of the Prophet, the only persons who memorize genealogies, and this, more than anything else, is the distinguishing feature of the *familiya*. Like the *mal*, this group is endogamous and exogamous, and is not formally named. The point of reference in its genealogy is some more or less illustrious forebear. Thus the deceased Isma'il Beg and his mother Lali Khan (who was a collateral relative of Isma'il Beg's father) are referred to as "descendants of Kor Pasha," that famous revolutionary chieftain who achieved a temporary independence from the Turks in the early decades of the nineteenth century. The nucleus of this genealogy is a list of patrilineal ancestors in a direct line ascending some seven or eight generations, a

series made up solely of males. To this are added note- 613
worthy collateral ancestors and, in the one or two genera-
tions closest to the chieftain in question, all of the
collaterals, including the names of wives, sisters, and the
latter's husbands. The importance of such a lineage lies
in the fact that it is the sole patent of nobility, itself
a matter of the highest social importance, and is of con-
siderable value in the arrangement of marriages and the
knowledge of one's potential friends and enemies. It is
usually associated with a certain amount of folk history,
the wars, revolts, feuds, and other deeds with which its
personnel were concerned. Commoners are able to reproduce
to some extent the lineage of their chieftain, for, as has [554]
been noticed, the honor of their leader is also their own, [521]
and animated conversations on such topics as aristocratic
marriages and lineages offer an everyday source of enter-
tainment. Unlike the *mal*, the *familiya* is not associated
with a single house, and its members may live in a large
number of separate establishments.

It is convenient here to dismiss the question of 428
inheritance with a cursory survey. Inheritance is not a 671
matter over which the Kurdish populace exercises any unique
control, because it was defined in the Quran and supple-
mented over the centuries by the jurists and doctors of
Islam. A whole branch of Islamic jurisprudence is con-
cerned with this complex question, and a number of popular
expositions are available to the general reader.[1] In

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[1] Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 1946, pp. 143-151.

Rowanduz a will is a legal instrument which must be 428 formulated in the presence of the judge and registered with a *katib al-'adil* or government notary, either of the serai or the court. If a person dies intestate, as in the case of most persons of the lower classes, and a quarrel ensues over the disposition of his property, this must also be settled by court action. In general, however, each of the sons of the deceased is entitled to one share and each of the daughters to a half-share, after the widow has received a stipulated eighth of the total property. In the absence of some of these heirs, certain relatives in a fixed order may present claims for varying percentages, a subject too complicated to be examined in detail here. If the heir [736] is an orphan, the property is administered by a department [429] of the government, the *Amwal al-Qasarin*, until he reaches maturity. A woman usually disposes of her property, her 428 dowry, jewelry, and household goods, as she pleases, al- 562 though this too can be brought to the bar. Thus the quarrels and complications which can arise in inheritance are settled by action of the judge, and the townspeople themselves, unless they have been engaged in such a suit, know little of the intricacies.

Two of the most striking features of Islamic inheritance are that a woman, although she is protected by certain specified percentages, does not receive a sum equal to that of a man, and that the estate of the deceased is not transferred intact to any one person, as in primogeniture, but is parcelled out among the several heirs, 428

each son having the same claim as his brothers. The 428
latter custom is reflected in the transmission of aristo-
cratic Kurdish titles. All of the sons of a chieftain,
irrespective of age or the rank of their mothers, receive
the title of the father and enjoy an equal share in the
property. Tribal chieftainship, as opposed to feudal [622]
overlordship, is usually settled on the eldest son,
despite of the fact that the remaining brothers continue to
enjoy the privileges of rank and share in the goods of the
estate. Thus, if men have a plurality of sons and
daughters in each generation and the original holding is
unsupplemented by additional gains, it follows that an
individual's inheritance grows progressively smaller with
each death. Among the Muslim peasantry, where the amount 423
of arable land is limited, as in certain areas in Egypt 428
or in Syria, a single person's plot can soon diminish to
a size insufficient to support a couple and the luckless
legatee must seek employment elsewhere, usually as a
tenant cultivator on some larger holding. The situation
in Kurdistan is not quite as difficult, inasmuch as a
person can always cut out a new field from the unclaimed
lands of the state domain. In a situation in which the
brothers or other relatives have quarrelled, property
which by virtue of its size could guarantee an income for
all can be reduced through inheritance into segments which
are far from profitable. The practice in such cases, [425]
commonly handled by process of law, is to sell the property
in question and to apportion each his share in money. It

is difficult, if not impossible, for even the cleverest 428
jurist to circumvent the equality of sons in inheritance, 423
for this has the direct sanction of religion.

For the most part, however, settlements are amicable and it is unnecessary for the heirs to have recourse to the court. In such cases, the legal division of property is often fictional and need not adhere to the exact provisions of the law. Instead of selling the house, the land, or the shop, the eldest brother or, in the minority
of the sons, a paternal uncle or some other relative [429]
assumes the role of administrator and things continue much
as they did before. To provide an example, a blacksmith [326]
in Rowandus owned a small house and maintained a shop in the *bazar*. On his death, his two sons, who chose to follow their father's calling, continued to work together in the shop, and ultimately the younger, with the aid of his brother, was able to obtain a house of his own. At no time was there a legal accounting, although one may suppose that the two had some knowledge of the value of the property and reached an agreement, perhaps tacitly, of their own. In another, more exact way, the eldest son often purchases gradually the shares of his brothers, keeping the estate intact. In some cases, a man apportions most of his wealth before his death, attempting to satisfy all of his heirs. As noticed above, a younger son is often accorded a separate establishment. It is said that a landowner can transfer his title, held in the *tapu*, registered land, office in the serai, to one son during

his lifetime, but it is difficult to see, in view of the inexorable character of the civil code reinforced by scripture, how one heir might be completely cut off in favor of another, and no examples could be elicited. If a man wished to disinherit all his relatives, a doubtful event, he could do this best by leaving his property to the Islamic faith, making of it a waqf or pious bequest, a legacy which is just as hard to get around as the equality of the claims of sons. 423 428 428

The bulk of the estate, animals, houses, land, tools, or capital, is commonly owned by males, although there is no reason why a woman cannot possess them as well. Lali Khan, since the death of Isma'il Beg and the imprisonment of her closest male relatives, offers a case in point. Generally speaking, however, the outstanding property of most women consists of a dowry, jewelry, and household goods. The dowry (mahr, from Arabic) in the generality of Islamic society, and at Rowanduz, is paid in money by the bridegroom to the father or guardian of the girl. It consists of two parts, the muqqadam and the mu'akhar, stipulated in the contract of marriage. The first, a half or two-thirds of the total amount, is paid in cash at the time the marriage contract is signed to the parent of the bride who is responsible for its administration. The second part, the remainder of the sum, must be paid to the woman if she is divorced against her will or widowed. As might be expected, it is not required for 421 562 583 421 [586] a husband to honor this second amount if the contract is broken before the marriage is consummated or if the woman, for some reason, abandons the house of her spouse. In Rowanduz, in contrast to other areas, the father of the bride is expected to double the first portion of the dowry, the muqqadam, from his own resources, and the money thus realized is given into the hands of the maiden. "The money of the muqqadam is for the girl," it was related, "and it is an evil and impious parent who withholds it from her. There are some bad fathers who eat up their daughters' dowries." The dowry of a girl of the lesser townspeople in Rowanduz is at least 20 or 30 dinars ($56.00 or $84.00) and that of daughters of the wealthier families or the aristocrats is much greater. 583 421

It must be realized that the amount of a dowry is also a sign of social status, and to this end the figures written into the marriage contract often have more prestige than reality behind them. A number of discussions of this point have been heard in the Middle East, and one of these, similar to those recorded in Rowanduz but perhaps more aptly expressed, was the expostulation of an English-speaking teacher, one Hasan al-Saati, in Egypt. "When, as a youth, I returned to my parents' town from the university in Cairo," he said, "I was called upon to negotiate the dowry of a maiden whom my younger brother wished to marry. Her relatives, when I spoke with them, named a figure so extravagant I could hardly credit my ears. I told them it was improper to bargain for a girl, and that, although I 583 554

agreed with them and went beyond them in the estimation 583
of her worth, only the sale of all my family's property could 554
realize their demand. One of them was kind enough to take me aside and to explain that there was a substantial difference between the documentary amount, publicized to the townspeople, and that which must actually be paid." It is perhaps for this reason that the _muqaddam_, the amount "paid" at the time of the wedding, is a much larger proportion of the dowry than the _mu'akhar_, that which [586] must be forthcoming in divorce, the former representing in part the social fiction and the latter a more realistic economic appraisal. Nevertheless, the dowry functions strongly as an argument against heedless separations, and few men, having invested a substantial part of their own or their relatives' capital in a match, will undertake divorce lightly. As recorded above, many persons use unusual monetary gains to give their wives jewelry of [301] [593] [454] precious metal, a matter of pleasure for the lady and, at the same time, further insurance against divorce or financial catastrophe.

To approach the Kurdish kinship system, it is 582
necessary to deal with certain other aspects of marriage, 834
the first of which is incest. Unlawful intercourse or marriage between certain relatives is also governed by the religious law of Islam, and one cannot with confidence adduce anything from contemporary Kurdish society which will provide a functional or final explanation of the specific determinants of these prescriptions. There is

no reason to believe, however, that such early prohibitions 582
differed too greatly from those formulated by the Prophet. 834
Specifically, it is forbidden for persons to marry their
grandparents, parents, the brothers and sisters of their
parents, and their own brothers and sisters. Further,
noting that polygyny is permitted, a man is prohibited from [595]
having two sisters as his wives. Only if one sister dies, [587]
is he permitted to wed the survivor. Finally, an infant
whose mother cannot feed him is often given to a wet-nurse, 582 608
and this person, no matter what her status (in Rowanduz [853]
she is typically a villager) becomes his "mother." In
later life he is under the same restrictions toward her
and her kindred as he is toward his own mother, for example,
he can never marry her daughter. The townspeople
of Rowanduz provided rationalizations for some of these
matters, and they are subtended here with little comment.
The rule that a man could not be married to two sisters
simultaneously was explained by the usage that a husband
habitually addressed his parents-in-law as "father" and [601]
"mother," his brother-in-law as "brother," and his sister-in-law [606]
as "sister," although, as will be seen, there are [607]
also separate terms for relatives by marriage. A man
cannot take the sister of his wife as a second bride, it
was said, because it was as if she were his real "sister,"
as he called her. In Kurdistan descent is commonly discussed 611
in two ways, through the blood (*khun*) of the
parents and through the milk (*shir*) of the mother. Great [853]

importance is attached to nursing, and the ultimate curse of a mother toward her offspring, the rarest of events, is the wish that her "milk should never have been a misfortune in his mouth." It is forbidden for children who have been nursed at the same breast to marry and for this reason a youth can never wed his foster-sister, the daughter of his wet-nurse. It must be noted that in selecting a wet nurse, one with whose daughter an advantageous marriage might be subsequently arranged is never sought, but rather some woman of the lower classes or of the villages. Neither of these explanations, nor a third, that of descent through "blood," can be expanded to explain the prohibition of marriage between two generations. To amplify this statement, one cannot marry his sister "because they have been nursed at the same breast," but the rationale does not apply to an aunt who is similarly forbidden. 611 853 582 834 608 611 853

Islamic law permits a man to take four wives if he so chooses. This, however, in its full realization presents many more obstacles than are immediately apparent. First, he must pay separate dowries for each spouse, and the dowry, as has been seen, as well as the feeding, clothing, and maintenance, of a single wife is not an inexpensive undertaking. Polygyny, then, is more often than not the prerogative of the extremely wealthy. At the same time, the threat to connubial happiness in maintaining two or more wives under the same roof is widely recognized in the Middle East, and there are many examples, in literature and in popular speech, of the intense jealousy developed in such a situation 595 [556] [578] a situation. The tendency is for most persons to remain 595 monogamous, and the usual reason for taking a second mate is the failure of the first to produce a male heir when, [842] at the same time, the husband is loathe to divorce the barren woman in question. Ra'uf Effendi was "thinking" of marrying a second wife who could replace the son he had lost, because the woman to whom he had been married for many years had passed the stage of child-bearing. He has not, however, carried out this intention yet. Sometimes a wife herself will suggest suggest the second marriage. In Rowanduz, in 1951, there were no men with a plurality of brides. It was said that some of the chieftains in older times had been able to maintain a number of wives in separate establishments, but most of this seems to have disappeared.

The preferred form of marriage is that between a 582 man and his father's brother's daughter. If the father and the uncle live under the same roof, it can be seen that such a match prevents the dowry from being paid into a strange mal, and in marriages of this type the stipulated sum of the dowry is often highly fictional. In Kurdistan a man always has the first claim on his paternal uncle's daughter, and his consent must first be obtained if she is to marry someone else. A bitter feud can ensue if the [578] parents of the maiden, in view of some advantageous alliance, override this prerogative. If an idealized situation is imagined in which the prescription that a man must marry

his father's brother's daughter is held as an inexorable 582
rule, it can be seen that marriages must be arranged
between pairs of brothers and sisters who are cousins to
each other. Thus, one's father and father's brother are
married to his mother and mother's sister respectively,
and the mother's brothers and father's sisters make up
third and fourth couples. If two things are envisaged, 428
patrilocal residence and Islamic inheritance, it can be 582
604
appreciated in the first regard that both the paternal [591]
and maternal aunts are parties to an individual's residence,
the first, the wife of the mother's brother, before she
is married, and the second, the wife of the father's brother,
after her wedding. Both paternal and maternal aunts are
described by the same kinship term, pilk. On the other [601]
hand, the paternal and maternal uncles are differentiated,
called mam and khal respectively. The first lives under
the parental roof of the individual concerned, and the
latter marries this uncle's daughter. The maternal uncle,
as has been seen, rarely, if ever, lives in the same house
as his married sister, and in the system imagined here,
one cannot marry his daughter. As far as inheritance is
concerned, it has been noted that the property is divided,
each son receiving a share and each daughter a half-share.
If there are offspring, a man cannot claim any part of the
estate of his maternal uncles or aunts. If, however, he is
married to the daughter of a paternal uncle, his wife
receives a half-share of her father's property, just as his
sister, wed to the son of the paternal uncle, is given a

half-share of the holdings of his father. Such a system is immediately divergent, because, although there is an exchange of marriages between cousins in one's own generation, the strains divide in the next. A man's children must intermarry with those of his brother, and would not, for example, espouse those of his cousins. The larger proportion of the property, the full male shares, follow the same divergent lines. 428 582 604

Such an idealized system, however, does not seem to exist. A man is permitted to marry any of his other cousins, the daughters of his paternal aunt, maternal uncle, or maternal aunt, or, as often happens, can take a wife completely unrelated to him. In Rowanduz, unlike certain other groups reported in the Middle East, there does not appear to be any hierarchy of preference among the cousins after the daughter of the father's brother. It was not possible to compile a list of marriages extensive enough to permit definitive comment on the relative frequency of these five types of marriage. Nevertheless, from examples, there appeared to be a high percentage of matches between unrelated persons. Coupled with this was the inability of most persons in the town to name their relatives beyond their grandparents, uncles and aunts, first cousins, and immediate family. This group, incidentally, corresponds closely with that outlined as making up the mal or "house" in its most extensive sense. In addition, they were able to name the parents, some of the uncles, aunts, brothers, and sisters of their wives. A scattering of the in-laws of 582 596

their own brothers and sisters was known. The impression 582
the investigator obtained from all of these things was that 596
the patrilineage, expressed in the _mal_ or "house," strongly
overrode the lateral calculation of relations to extend or
broaden the kinship group. Marriages undertaken for 581
economic or social advantage add to the divergency, inas-
much as they bring together at one point unrelated groups.
It must be remembered, however, that Rowanduz was re-
settled from various sources after its destruction in the
first World War, and the marriages of its families, many
of them migrants to the town, cannot be expected to show
the characteristics of a similar community whose popula-
tion had been left undisturbed. In the agricultural 621
villages of the district, it was said, somewhat arbitrarily, 602
that "everyone is related," but one suspects, in view of the 571
importance of the patrilineage and the form of inheritance,
that even in these places marriages characteristically
cause divergence in forming new family or _mal_-groups, and
the village population is constantly regrouping, rather
than constituting a systematically interrelated whole.

The Kurdish kinship nomenclature, as recorded at 601
Rowanduz, makes systematic use of a limited number of
basic terms. The first group of these, twelve in number,
indicate consanguineal relationships, those held to be
in the "milk" of the mother or in the "blood:"

1. _Ba pir_	("Old Father")	Grandfather
2. _Da pir_	("Old Mother")	Grandmother
3. _Bab_	("Father")	Father
4. _Dak_	("Mother")	Mother

[Text continues on page 237]

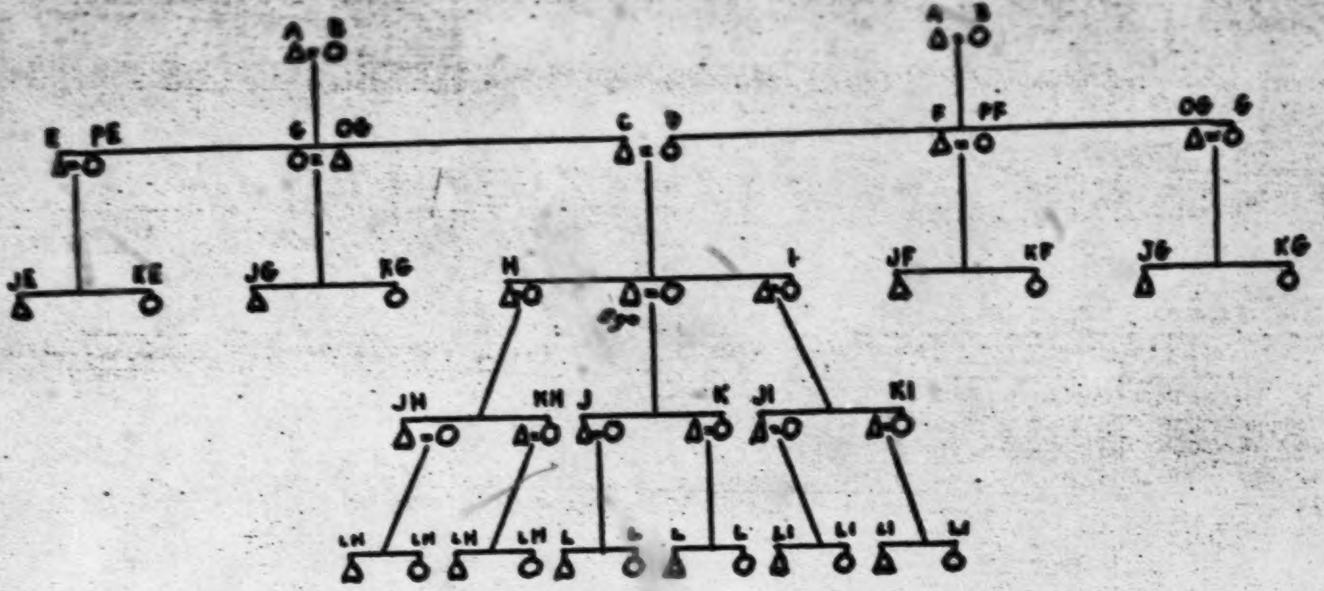
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Figure 4. Kurdish Kinship System, Consanguineal
The abbreviations are A, grandfather; B, grandmother; C, father; D, mother; E. paternal uncle; F, maternal uncle; G. aunt; H, brother; I, sister; J, son; K, daughter; L, grandchild; O, husband; P, wife. Two abbreviations paired together indicate that the second is in the genitive, for example, PE means "wife of paternal uncle." The chart is recorded for a male speaker, but the terminology is the same for Ego's sister. Kurdish equivalents may be found in the text and the appendix. △=male, and ○=female.

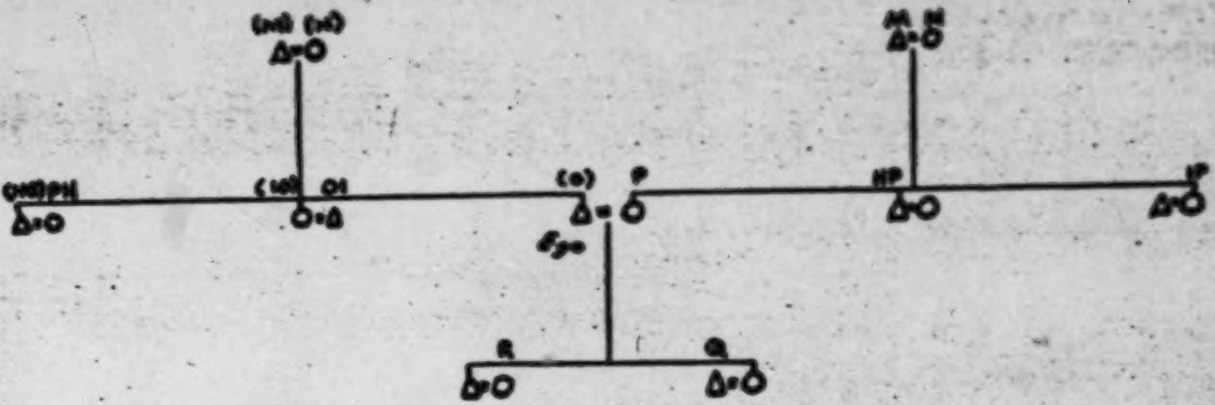

Figure 5. Kurdish Kinship System. Affinal
The abbreviations are M. father-in-law; N, mother-in-law; O, husband; P, wife; Q, son-in-law; R, daughter-in-law. Others are as in Figure 4. Those paired together indicate that the second is in the genitive, for example, IO means "sister of husband" and OI "husband of sister." The chart is recorded for a male speaker. The abbreviations in parentheses are the terms used by Ego's wife for her husband's consanguineal relatives. Kurdish equivalents may be found in the text and the appendix.

5. Mam	-	Father's Brother
6. Khal	-	Mother's Brother
7. Purk	("Aunt")	Parent's Sister
8. Bra	("Brother")	Brother
9. Khushk	("Sister")	Sister
10. Kurr	("Boy")	Son
11. Kich	("Girl")	Daughter
12. Newa	("Grandchild")	Grandchild

Two of these have been borrowed from Arabic, mam and khal, cognate with 'amm, "paternal uncle," and khal, "maternal uncle," respectively. On the other hand, the Arabic words for the paternal and maternal aunts, 'amma and khala, have not entered the Kurdish system. The reasons for the adoption of these two terms are difficult to discern. The two uncles are differentiated with respect to residence and their relationships with the individual to a much greater degree than the aunts. One might suspect that for these [174] causes, or the use of Arabic in religious and legal documents, such as wills, over the centuries, the displacement of the original Kurdish names took place. This, however, cannot immediately explain why a similar adoption of Arabic for such words as "father" or "brother" did not also occur. The mechanism of diffusion, then, must await further study.

The second group of terms, six in number, indicate affinal relations, those created by marriage:

1. Khazur	-	Father-in-law
2. Khazu	-	Mother-in-law
3. Mard	("Man")	Husband
4. Zhin	("Woman")	Wife
5. Zawa	("Bridegroom")	Son-in-law
6. Buk	("Bride")	Daughter-in-law

As noticed above, a man may address his wife's relatives by those words he uses to describe his own. There is variability at certain points. If one marries his father's brother's daughter, he can alternately call his father-in-law mam, "father's brother," bab, "father," or khezur, "father-in-law." Similarly, the father's brother, in such a situation, can term his son-in-law kurri mam, "father's brother's son," kurr, "son," zawa, "son-in-law," or mardi kich, "daughter's husband." Generally speaking, however, the consanguineal term which had prior usage in such cases, for example, mam, rather than bab or khezur, continues in use and has a greater frequency than the others. 601

The kinship system is of the sort commonly called "descriptive," that is, a term describes a single type of relationship and all others are made up of the basic list of twelve consanguineal and six affinal words. It contrasts with the "classificatory" system in which a term comprehends many different types of relationship. Thus, the daughter of the father's brother's son is kichi kurri mam, literally, "daughter of son of father's brother," or the husband of an aunt's daughter is mardi kichi pilk, "husband of daughter of parent's sister," and the way in which others are formed may be seen in the accompanying diagrams. As noted above, however, certain extensions are rarely used. The great-grandson of the father's brother is kurri kurri kurri mam, "son of son of son of father's brother," although the townspeople explained that never, in their experience, had there been occasion to calculate to this degree. The "generation principle" is observed throughout, in that, unlike certain primitive nomenclatures in which a cousin, for example, may be called "uncle," one never finds the use of terms applicable to one generation of kindred in another. In addition, there is no difference in the terminology for a male or female speaker, as in some systems in which a woman has different terms for the same relative than those of a man. It is difficult to say to what extent kinship terms replace proper names in popular speech, but their usage seems extremely frequent. Just as in our own society, a person customarily addresses relatives of the generations above him as "grandfather," "father," and the like, while he calls those below him by their proper names. 601

The investigator feels called upon to compare his own list with that recorded by E. R. Leach for the Rowandus "area."[1] This last, however, in Leach's work comprehends not only the Rowandus district, but also extensive locales surrounding Shaqlawa and Erbil. Leach has not indicated in his text at what place within this large field of investigation his information was compiled. The points of divergence, as will be seen, are not of a serious nature.

	Masters	Leach
Father's brother	[illegible]	[illegible]
Father's brother's wife	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]
Father's brother's son	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]
Father's brother's daughter	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]

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[1] Leach, 1940, pp. 43-44.

601

Father's sister	pilk	pur
Father's sister's son	kurri pilk	purrza
Father's sister's daughter	kichi pilk	purrza
Father	bab	bab
Mother	daik	daika
Mother's brother	khal	khalo
Mother's brother's son	kurri khal	khaloza
Mother's brother's daughter	kichi khal	khaloza
Mother's sister	pilk	pur
Mother's sister's son	kurri pilk	purrza
Mother's sister's daughter	kichi pilk	purrza
Brother's son	kurri bra	braza
Brother's daughter	kichi bra	braza
Sister's son	kurri khushk	khushkaza
Sister's daughter	kichi khushk	khushkaza
Husband's brother	brai merd	merdbra
Husband's sister	khushki merd	merdkhushk
Wife's brother	brai zhin	zhinbra
Wife's sister	khushki zhin	zhinkhushk

The Kurdish language of northern Iraq exhibits a large number of dialectical differences, some more striking than others. [197] It must be remembered again that the population of Rowandus is derived from diverse sources, and linguistic peculiarities of the town itself, of the villages, and of other areas, such as Sulaymaniya, may be heard intermingled in everyday speech. The investigator recorded a number of the forms presented by Leach, but has chosen to submit the terms given by Ra'uf Effendi and a merchant whose families had lived in the town in Ottoman times. Most of the discrepancies between this list and that of Leach appear to be dialectical. Those he presents for the paternal and maternal uncle, mama and khalo, however, are inflected in vocative, as in "O uncle!" The noun za which appears in his list for the children of father's brother and sister, mother's brother and sister, and the individual's brother and sister means alternately "boy" or "girl." Finally, in usual Kurdish word order, as in the investigator's report,

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a noun precedes its genitive and is inflected, for example, 601
khushki merd, "sister of husband," rather than merdkhushk. 193
This last series of observations is not that of the investigator himself, but were offered informally by E. N. McCarus, a linguist who has made the Kurdish language the subject of an extensive study. 197

In approaching relationships within the mal or 554
"house," several things must be emphasized in order that a 577
proper perspective may be gained. The first of these is 602
the question of family honor. Personal honor, for example, in cases in which a man might acquire a reputation as a liar, a thief, a weakling, or the like, seems always to be dwarfed by the larger matter of family honor, and, as noticed in the section treating society, this is closely connected with
that of the household's women. This is measured in two 562
regards, whether or not the woman has been chaste prior to [836]
her marriage and whether or not she remains faithful to [837]
her husband after it. One of its several expressions, for
women of the upper strata of society, the townswomen of [565]
wealthier homes and the wives of the aristocrats and [291]
officials, is the wearing of the veil. Such women are required to conceal their faces, if not their persons, from those unrelated or not intimately known to their families. The women of the lower classes are unveiled, but even then are not permitted extended traffic, such as lengthy conversations, with males unknown to their husbands. The decorum demanded of women serves to orient relationships within and without the household. Coupled with this

is the concept of the inequality of male and female, the 562
second held to be a necessary but weak and volatile component
of the scheme of things. The Kurds, as suggested
above, claim to hold their women in greater respect than
the Arabs, but it is doubtful that this might be carried
to the extent known in Europe or America without considerable
opposition. In the agricultural villages of
the district, the wives and daughters enjoy much greater [462]
social equality, inasmuch as they are partners with the
men in working in the fields, than in Rowanduz, where the
work of men, for example, the trade of the smith or the
merchant, is considered impossible or shameful for females.
It is thus that, although a man may be discomfitted by 558
being known as cowardly, miserly, or impious, the two 628
worst catastrophes that can overtake the honor of the *mal* 577
are the murder of one of its members or the indiscretion
of its women. In popular theory, the murderer or one of
his relatives in the first case must be sought out and
slain, and, in the second, the woman in question must be
done away with.

The second thing necessary to notice is the almost 842
incredible emphasis placed on a male heir. Every man, no 558
matter what his station in life, desires a son, and, this
wish granted, extends it to include a grandson. "A grand- [603]
father prays to God to let him live long enough to see
his grandson," one was informed, and one of the most heartbreaking
events is the death of a son or grandson. It has
been noted how Ra'uf Effendi considered a second marriage

to replace the boy he had lost. Women share as much as 842
their husbands in this desire. Lali Khan was so stricken 558
by the death of Isma'il Beg, her son, that she made her [765]
mourning perpetual. If, for some reason, a man has no son, [604]
he often turns to those of his brother or sister, showering
them with affection and gifts. Girls, of course, share [562]
in the love of their parents and do not receive treatment
which would cause them to be too jealous of their brothers,
but never acquire the standing of a male. The sarcophagus 765
of Isma'il Beg has flowers placed next to it daily, and an
animal, whose flesh is distributed to the poor, is
slaughtered in his memory almost every week. In contrast,
the son of Shakir Effendi pointed out the grave of his
daughter who had died in infancy to visitors by throwing
a pebble at it.

The third emphasis is that placed on seniority within 602
the family. The male usually takes precedence over the
female, and the eldest does the same over those younger
than himself. Thus the children, both boys and girls,
must observe respect toward their elder brothers and
sisters, parents, uncles, aunts, and grandparents.

Turning now to a more exact delineation of the 593
relationships within the _mal_, little more has been done
than to rephrase and combine several of the narratives
recorded. The first question which might be treated is
that of parents and their children. The relationship
between a father and his son, as one might suspect from
the foregoing, is one of the most important to the former,

although he often conceals the adulation of his heir and 593
acts, much more than any other person in the family, as
the disciplinarian. The son is required to stand in his [576]
father's presence until bidden to seat himself and the
latter's directions have the effect of absolute law. As
his heir, the son must seek his father's aid and consent
in financial matters and all affairs of importance, such
as a career or a marriage. The father, however, is not a
confidant until the son has married and passed well into
adulthood. The mother, in contrast, is the general
repository of her son's secrets and a friend and companion.
"If a son is in need of money, he sometimes goes to his
mother and obtains it from her secretly. If he smokes,
she furnishes him with cigarettes." It is through the
influence of the mother with her spouse that a youth attempts
to obtain his wishes from his father. If a young man desired
a new suit of clothes and had reason to believe his
father might demur, he carries his problem to his mother
who exerts her influence on his behalf. A man need not
exhibit deferential conduct toward his mother, as in the
case of the father. The relationship between father and
daughter is similar to that between the former and his son.
She must rise when her father enters the room and observe [576]
respectful behavior toward him. "She must never reply
harshly, and must always say 'yes,' rather than 'no.'
If her reply is sharp, her father may beat her. If her
mother intervenes, both may be beaten." On the other
hand, in return for gracious conduct, such as bringing

him tea or water and a napkin to wash his hands, the father 593
often provides his daughter with gifts of clothing and jewelry. As in the case of the son, the mother is the general confidant of the girl, keeping her secrets and presenting her wishes to the father. Either son or daughter may quarrel with their parents, the former always with the better chance of success.

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The relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is extremely gentle, particularly that between grandfather and grandson. "Everyone in the house has great respect for the grandfather. When he arrives, all kiss his hand and he gives them a blessing. If he is old enough, the grandson bathes his grandfather and, in summer, carries him ot the bed on the roof on his back." The grandmother is held in like esteem. Kissing the hand of [576]
such a relative as a token of respect is accomplished in Rowanduz by taking the right hand of the person in question, bending over it and touching the lips to its back, and then pressing the spot kissed to the forehead. If the grandmother is part of the household, she often acts in authority over her daughter-in-law and is much more of a confidant to her grandchildren than the mother, indulging them more than their parents desire. Because a man retains the intimacy with his mother in later life, she can be a much more effective channel of appeal from a grandchild to the father than her daughter-in-law.

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The connections between an individual and his uncles and aunts are somewhat varied. "The paternal

uncle (*mam*) loves the children of his brother as much 604
as his own. If he has daughters, he gives them to his [584]
brother's sons as wives. If he is rich, he looks after
his nephews and nieces, sending them clothing and money,
and supporting the boys in school. If his brother dies, [736]
he takes the survivors of the deceased into his own
house. When he comes for a visit, he brings gifts for the
children. They shout, gathering around him, and the infants
are placed on his knees." As in the case of the
father and grandfather, boys and girls are expected to [576]
stand in the presence of the uncle. The maternal uncle
(*khal*) is a much rarer visitor in the house, although he
is also a potential parent-in-law and guardian. "Sometimes
the maternal uncle does not like his sister's
husband or her children." In the absence of relatives
on the paternal side, a widow may apply to her brother [593]
for help. The paternal and maternal aunts (*pilk*) are [589]
much more frequent visitors if they do not live within
the house itself. Relations with them do not require any
extraordinary deferential conduct. The wives of the
paternal and maternal uncles, if they are not consanguineal
relatives, are treated with greater reserve. Visits 574
are not ordinarily exchanged between a man and his 604
maternal relatives except on infrequent occasions. When
a paternal uncle, his wife, or a paternal aunt arrive,
they are taken into the bosom of the family. In contrast,
the maternal uncle or an unrelated husband of the
paternal aunt are usually entertained in the *diwankhana*

or guest-room, apart from all of the women of the house. 604 574

The eldest brother occupies a position over his 593
brothers and sisters analogous to that of the father. He
shares to some extent in the parental authority and is
responsible for the house when the father is absent. Often
he is entrusted with money from which he gives his younger
brothers their *rozhana*, "daily allowance," a sum which increases in size with their years. The children are taught [454]
to save this money in a box, and whenever the eldest
brother makes a journey to Erbil or a similar place he
takes their savings and purchases them something they
desire. Like that of the father, his word is law and all
of his directions must be carried out by those junior to
him without altercation. Whenever he enters the room,
the younger children are supposed to stand, although
this is not invariably done. If the eldest of the children [562]
is a girl, she has much the same authority as a boy, without, however, the formalities mentioned above. She is
usually the chief helper of her mother in housework and
the care of the younger children. In several families
observed in which the eldest was a girl, the brothers disobeyed or teased her only at the risk of being punished.
There seems to be little of a hierarchy among the younger
brothers and sisters, and it cannot be said, as it sometimes is in America, that the youngest is the darling of
the family, save in the case in which he is the first boy. 593
The boys learn very early to be jealous of their sisters' 554
honor, not only in protecting them in the usual quarrels 577

of childhood, but in later life. If a woman is returned 593
for some reason to her parental home, it is as 577 554
much a reflection on her brothers as on herself.

In all of the situations outlined thus far there 291
has been no question of the veil, except for a maternal 882
uncle and a husband of a paternal aunt who are not permitted 574 602
to associate freely with all of the women of the 835
house unless they happen to be close friends of its master.
The veil enters in between cousins of marriageable age,
and the striking difference between a married man and a
bachelor is encountered for the first time. When a young
man reaches what is considered adulthood, about fifteen
or sixteen years, women of other houses begin to conceal
their faces from him. If, for example, he visited the
house of his father's brother, the latter's wife might
appear unveiled to him, but the adult, unmarried daughters
of the house would be at least shy and retiring in his
presence, usually fleeing at his approach (not, however,
losing the opportunity to observe the potential bridegroom
from hiding). When he is married, the whole situation
changes and he is free to mingle with them unveiled, even
alone together in a room. There are, of course, none of 605
these restrictions among male cousins and among female
cousins. Two youths who are cousins greet each other by
shaking hands or kissing each other on the cheek. It is
said that a young man could greet the daughter of his
paternal uncle by kissing her on the arm or shoulder, but [584]

it seems likely that this is only permissable after the two have been engaged to be married. 605 584

The relations between husband and wife are highly variable, depending greatly on the personalities involved. In masculine theory, a wife should be submissive, obeying her husband's wishes as though they were commands and observing the same type of demeanor exhibited to her father. The husband is able to punish her, perhaps by beating, as he might his own child. Reality, however, is otherwise, for there are wives who fulfill this ideal and others who do not, and there appears to be little correspondence to social status in situations in which the wife achieves a dominant position over her husband. The status of a bride within the family is greatly strengthened by the birth of her first son, and she may thereafter command much greater attention and respect from her husband and relatives by marriage. She may be tyrannized by her mother-in-law until this event takes place. Similarly, separations or divorces are less frequent after the birth of a male heir. The wife is the mistress of her household and receives money from the husband for its maintenance. As the recipient of the dowry and an heir of her parents, she enjoys a certain amount of potential independence. Beyond these remarks it is difficult to go further. A number of marriages were described in which the women quickly assumed almost dictatorial powers over their husbands and their households. A daughter of the aristocracy, by virtue of her father's rank, appears to be much less liable to 593 [183] [851] [606] [586] [592] ill-treatment than one of lesser status. 593

The deportment required of a man toward his relatives by marriage depends to some extent on whether or not the two families are related. If, for example, he has married the daughter of his father's brother, he is much more intimate with his parents-in-law and their other children. In other cases, he must behave with greater reserve, and, if he accompanies his wife on a visit to her parental home, does not enjoy absolute freedom of the house. As noted above, he may address his relatives by marriage by the terms he uses for his own parents, brothers, and sisters. Similarly, a woman who has wed into a strange _mal_ is initially placed at some disadvantage, although, of course, she may circulate freely in the household. She becomes much more intimate with her husband's relatives than he with hers. In time, particularly after the birth of her first son, a wife can achieve a position of dominance in her husband's family. Through her influence, a man is often called upon to alleviate his relatives by marriage if they are in distress and to take them into his own house if orphaned. 606 607

The presence of servants in the wealthier households and the manner in which they regard themselves as members of the family has already been noticed. The household servants may be married or unmarried, but there must never be any question of sexual relations between them and their employers. A woman, save in the occasional case of a 357 592 [834] 589 357

wealthy widow, never lives alone, and rarely remains unmarried 357
for any length of time. It would be virtually impossible 589
for her to have an unmarried man in her service
in the face of popular opinion. It is much the same with
a bachelor living alone, for the townspeople would never
countenance his engaging a maid, even if he could find one.
The same holds true of an unmarried person living with a
family to which he is not related. The investigator lived 123
for a time with the family of a merchant, superficially separated 589
from them by a wall of blankets, and a certain segment [208]
of neighborhood opinion let it be known that this [427]
householder had sacrificed the honor of his family for the [554]
sum of the rental. The merchant informed the investigator
that he was convinsed that the latter, as a gentleman, had
no evil intention toward his womenfolk and that the veil
of blanketing was for "the neighbors" rather than any
practical purpose of segregation. This, incidentally,
provided him with an excuse for charging a slightly higher
amount than necessary. It is also interesting that, after
the rooms had been engaged, several invitations were
received, accompanied by expostulations, to stay as a
guest with other families, deferred until this time. Almost 589
all of those unmarried, the teachers and lesser 427
officials, must hire houses and male servants of their own.
There are a few exceptions. The *qaimmaqam*, unaccompanied 592
by his wife, lived alone, and had several persons, including 357
a widow, in his service. The superiority of his 554
position, coupled with the fact that he was already married,

absolved him from any gossip. If one is married and accompanied by his spouse, her vigilance is considered sufficient and servants of any condition may be added to the household. 592 554 357

Friendships contracted outside the *mal*, as noticed in the discussion of society, are, in adulthood, formed between persons of comparable social status. A few lasting alliances may arise in childhood or adolescence, but most appear when the persons concerned have become adults. For all classes of society, only the men are free to associate with their friends in public. "A good friend helps one in distress with money, clothing, or food. The two friends visit each other almost every day, sitting together and discussing business or politics. If one of them is a bachelor and is subsequently married, the other acts as his 'servant,' receiving guests and completing the arrangements of the wedding." Male companions of this sort visit with each other in the *bazar* or the mosque, and exchange calls at their houses. Within the house, a friend is entertained in the *diwankhana* or guest-room, apart from the women, until, perhaps, both are married and the friendship is of long duration. Only under these last conditions is a man able to associate freely with his comrade's womenfolk. An old custom is sometimes observed between youths, a formalized exchange of breat and salt, termed *nimak*, within the house. If two male friends have not met for a long period, they greet by kissing each 572 other on the cheek. Women of the upper classes are much more restricted. If unmarried adults, they cannot ordinarily visit a strange house, and most of their friends are thus derived from among their female relatives. It has been seen that the maids are welcome confidants of wealthy women. When married, they are able to accompany their husbands to alien houses, the latter going to the diwankhana with the men while the women gather in one of the rooms. Women of lower station enjoy much greater freedom, talking with their neighbors out of doors and making use of the woman's mosque. After reaching a marriageable age, there is no question of public friendship between boys and girls. If a youth wishes to speak to some maiden, the affair must take place with the greatest secrecy and there are only rare opportunities for such exchanges.

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Turning now to the course of an individual of Rowandus through life, a person belonging to a family of moderate wealth, birth may be examined first. When a pregnant woman nears the moment of her delivery, a number of women, usually her relatives and friends, attend her in one of the rooms of her husband's house. The expectant father, other male relatives and friends, are not allowed to enter the place of delivery, but wait in the diwankhana or guest-room. A woman who can read from the Quran is called, and when she enters all of the attendants rise. She is seated in a corner of the room and recites in a loud voice while the labor progresses. If such a reader is not available, a copy of the Quran is placed beside the woman in labor.

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woman in labor. A second woman, the midwife, is summoned 844
at the same time. There were four midwives in Rowanduz
in 1951, all women of the lower classes. The mother is
delivered lying on mattresses spread on the floor. When
the baby is held up by the midwife, the women cry *Salawat*
(Arabic, "Prayers") and *Ullah* ("God"), which conveys the
event to the waiting men nearby. The midwife severs the
umbilical cord with a knife and ties it, and the baby is
washed in water, rolled in a mixture of oil and salt, and
swaddled. Pieces of cloth have been placed under the
mother. The blood is washed from these and they may be
used again. The afterbirth, *hawar mindar* ("friend of the
infant"), is taken some distance from the house and
buried. A woman is considered impure for forty days after 846
the birth and she is not allowed to have intercourse with [833]
her husband during this period. When it is completed, she [783]
is supposed to take a ritualized bath in which forty cups
of water are poured over her. Intercourse between husband [843] [833]
and wife is freely permitted during pregnancy.

The female relatives of the mother remain with her 851
for seven days. A celebration for both sexes ensues, depending for its size on whether or not the newly-born is a boy and the wealth of the father. For the wealthy, a series of animals, sheep or goats, are slaughtered and their flesh is distributed to the poor. A banquet is held for the friends and relatives of the house, lasting from a few days to two weeks, at times accompanied by dancing and the music of the flute and drum. A poor man can only

purchase bread which he distributes to his neighbors among 851
the townspeople. The ceremony for the first son is much
more extravagant than that held for girls and subsequent
male children. Twins are thought to be a blessing, "a 845
gift of God," and there is a "ceremony double in size" for
them. Albinism seems to be unknown in Rowanduz. Deformed 732
infants, if they survive, are kept within the house, and
their parents "thank God for them" just as with normal
children.

Infants are fed at the breast for a period of varying 853
length, from six to twenty-four months. Renewed pregnancy
requires weaning, because it is held that the milk is then
"unfortunate" for the first child. If the mother cannot
suckle her child, a wet-nurse is obtained, and she becomes, [608]
as noticed previously, its foster-mother, *diyan*, and the
child cannot marry one of her children in later life. The
wet-nurse remains in the home of the infant, and is subsidized
with money and food. In the event that a nurse
cannot be obtained, the child is fed with the fresh milk
of goats, sheep, or cattle. Infants are not nursed at
regular periods, but whenever the mother feels it is
necessary, nor are they suckled every time they cry. It 856
is said that "crying develops the voice," and they are
often left unnoticed in this respect for some length of
time.

The cradle is of wood, and consists of a flat wooden 854
bed raised between four flat legs which are curved to join 352
above it in two arches. The arches are connected by a

cross-piece, and the whole, with the infant bound in it, can be carried about easily by this last. The child is laid on a pad or mat and bound in the cradle with straps of intricately woven and embroidered wool. A hollow piece of cane is placed between the infant's legs whereby the urine runs off, either on the earthen floor or into a tin. In warm weather the cradle is covered by linen or gauze to protect the baby from flies and mosquitoes. The cross-piece is always hung with charms against the evil eye, verses from the Quran enclosed in cloth packets, pieces of blue porcelain and drilled pebbles, and gilded ornaments. The infant's costume for both sexes is a simple dress of brightly coloured material, sometimes with a little apron. No undergarments are in use. The shoulder of the dress is also pinned with charms, like those mentioned above, or a round embroidered insignia, much like a representation of a wagon-wheel. 854 [352] [751] 291 854

A week or two after birth, the infant is named, an event which is not marked in Rowandus by an elaborate ceremony. A man of wealth invites his friends to attend, and entertains them in the guest-room with light refreshments. The mulla or priest is summoned, and the baby is placed in his arms. He has been informed of the name selected previously by one of the family. He holds the child in such a way as to be able to speak into its ear. He gently intones what was described in Rowandus as the iman (Arabic, "creed," more correctly, the shahada, "testimony" 553 852

553 852 [539] of faith), *Ullahu akber, Ullahu akber, ashhadu inna la ullaha illa llah wa ashhadu inna Muhammad rasul Ullah,* "God is greatest, God is greatest, I bear witness that Muhammad is the Apostle of God," for the infant, something analogous to a Christian baptismal ceremony. He then says the name of the child loudly in its ear three times, and the formal ceremony is completed. The investigator was told that elsewhere in Kurdistan, specifically at Sulaymaniya, there are extensive celebrations connected with naming. The name itself is usually selected by the parents, who can defer its choice to the grandparents. It was also said that a name was occasionally obtained by drawing one of a number of written slips from a bag, or that it appeared to one of the parents in a dream.

551 The Kurds do not use family names, but occasionally add appellations which further identify the person in question. The proper names are in part derived from Arabic, among them the numerous "slaves" of God, for example, 'Abd al-Rahman, "Slave of the Merciful," or simple ones such as Anwar or Fatima. Others, like Mustafa or Izzet, have a Turkish origin, and some are purely Kurdish or Persian. On analogy from the Arabs, the parents of a child may be designated after him. Thus, the mother and father of Nawzad might be termed Dak Nawzad and Baba Nawzad respectively. A person may also be identified by the name of his father, for example, Aziz Shakir, Aziz "the son of" Shakir. For additional characterization, a man may be

known by his trade, as in 'Umar Chaichi, 'Umar the Tea- 551
shop Owner, by a nickname, as in Shakir Mujjrim, Shakir
the Criminal, or by his birthplace or region, as in 'Ali
Farsi, 'Ali the Persian. Those who claim descent from the 551
Tribe of the Prophet may preface their name with sayyid, 554
"Lord," as in Sayyid Ahmad of Batas, and have the right of [292]
wearing the green turban. Only the Kurdish nobility use
titles such as agha or beg after their names, although the
townspeople often apply these to officials and officers
of the government elite. The only titles which precede
the proper name seem to be Arabic, hajji, a pilgrim, mulla,
a priest, sayyid, a descendant of the Hashimite Tribe, and
shaykh, an aristocratic or religious chieftain. The titles
which follow the proper name are Turkish, agha, beg, effendi,
and pasha. These are used in combination. The chief
mulla of Rowandux is formally addressed as Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Effendi. No local pattern could be discerned to
the aversion of calling a child by his proper name in
public, a custom extremely widespread elsewhere in the
Middle East, nor did there appear to be any marked attempt
to conceal the sex of a male child, for example, dressing
him as a girl, to avoid the evil eye.

When able to walk, infants usually join their brothers 855
and sisters in the common bed and accompany them in their 857
play. The older girls are charged with their care, and a
child of the wealthy or the aristocracy is rarely left
unattended. Those of the lower classes are allowed to
wander about the streets of the town, sometimes to their 855
peril.

self. At the same time, they begin to wear clothing 855 [291]
differentiating the sexes, shirts and trousers for the
boys, dresses and undertrousers for the girls. The older 864
children teach them to avoid exposure of the sexual organs
in public. Toilet training begins early, at five or six 863
months, by the repetition of a nonsense word which
signifies evacuation and is accompanied by the initial use
of a pot. Gradually utilization of the latrine and its
ewer of water is learned. After two or three years the
mother and others of the family begin to punish a child
who soils himself. For six months after birth the nails 302 853
of a baby may not be cut, and the hair of a boy is clipped
for the first time at the age of one year. The hair of the
girls is stained with henna, and, when it has attained
sufficient length, is braided. A girl's ear-lobes are [304]
pierced during her early childhood.

An outstanding event for boys between the ages of 852 304
four and six years is circumcision, which, although not
mentioned in the Quran, has come to be an essential attribute of a Muslim. "You are now a Muslim," a father in
Rowanduz tells a son who has undergone the operation.
Generally, one or more persons of wealth who have sons of
the appropriate age finance the ceremony for all of the
boys in the town who are in need of it. The operation
itself is performed by one of the barbers or by a wandering
darwish who has made a specialty of such a task. On the
appointed day, the boys are gathered in the home of the

wealthy commoner in a room outfitted with beds and mattresses on which they are told to rest. 852 304 Their mothers and other female relatives supervise them, and have a gathering of their own in one of the sleeping rooms. In the guest-room a large congregation of men, the fathers, relatives, and friends assembles. The *mulla* is summoned, and recites from the Quran. Another room is appointed for the operation itself, and in it the barber or *darwish*, several of the men, and the father of the boy being circumcised at the time take their stations. It might be noted [852] that the boys, segregated in their room, are in a state of considerable trepidation, for they have not been informed what this festive and, at the same time, solemn occasion portends for them. A boy is led alone into the room of the operation and seated on a chair, his father standing next to him. The barber or *darwish* kneels before him, concealing the knife, and the foreskin is cut, theoretically before the child is aware of what has happened. At the same time a lump of sugar is placed in his mouth to prevent an outcry. The wound is quickly bound with a cloth bandage, and the boy is returned to his fellows. The barber or *darwish* usually accompanies his movements by muttering religious formulae of his own choosing or invention.

304 852 574 When all have been circumcised, they are allowed to rest and are visited by their fathers and mothers who congratulate them on their bravery. Meanwhile a great celebration ensues for the adults, separate banquets for

the two grooms, and dancing in the courtyard or before 304
the house for both sexes. The host pays the barber or 862 574
dervish, the _mulla_, and the musicians during the meal, and
their return can be extremely large ("as much as a hundred [465]
dinars," or $280.00). The surgeon returns to examine the
wounds and to redress them later in the day. In some cases
there is a parade through the streets prior to the operation,
the son of the host seated on a donkey surrounded by a
crowd made up of the other boys, the barber, and others.
As can be seen, this event makes a tremendous impression
on the juvenile mind, and is characteristically painful.
Boys who have undergone circumcision wear a _dishdasha_ [292]
or smock, and may be seen holding it out in front of
them to avoid touching the sensitive wound. Clitorectomy
is never practiced, and is spoken of by the townspeople
as a "Shiite" or "Persian" abomination.

Children enjoy a relatively untroubled childhood, 857
gradually called away from it in adolescence by the demands
of further education, their fathers' trades, or marriage.
Boys and girls of the town may mingle freely until the
veil separates them at the age of fifteen or sixteen, and
the democracy of youthful associations, sons and
daughters of all classes of society meeting together, has
already been noticed. The boys and girls, however, separate
into two groups even before the segregation of adolescence
takes place. One of the most popular sports of the boys
is a mock war in which commanders are selected by the

opposing sides. Occasionally these "bands" can disturb 857
the adult authorities, as in 1930 when some of the [685]
"raiders" took the money of the son of the assistant
commandant of police. Another game is played with a 857
rubber ball and a stick by two teams. These face each 524
other and one of the two "chiefs" hits the ball toward
his opponents with a stick. If the ball is caught by a
member of the opposing side, one of the first team is
eliminated from further participation, and so it continues
until "it can be seen who remains." A third consists in
forming a circle of a dozen or so youths. A ball is thrown
quickly among them until one is expelled for dropping it.
Hide-and-seek is a favorite, as well as throwing stones
or walnuts from a mark on the ground at a hole some distance
away. *Jik* or knucklebones, obtained from a sheep,
is played by two. One bone is thrown up in the air and
the player endeavors to strike it while still in flight
with the second bone so that both will fall in a certain
way. Something similar to European or American "marbles"
is executed with small wooden balls. The girls commonly
play "house," imitating the domestic activities of their
elders. The older boys, it might be noted, refuse to play
with the girls as unworthy of their dignity. The girls, 868
much more than the boys, are called to perform household 857
tasks, helping the mothers with their work and taking care
of the younger children. It is said that a mother will
cause the eldest daughter to perform almost all of the
domestic activities, instructing her for the role of a

wife, while taking advantage of labor which will no 868
longer be available when the girl is married. Very few 857
toys, including dolls, are to be found in the town, and [524]
the girls characteristically amuse themselves with an
infant brother or sister as they might a plaything. Sexual 864
education begins early in life, and does not seem to con-
stitute a disturbing factor until adolescence. There is no [839]
standard parental formula for masturbation, and it was
said that "some parents beat their children for this, and
others advise them." It might also be noted that obscene 831
language is freely permitted in most Kurdish households, 578
except in the presence of the elder males. One, for 865
example, heard a mother call her daughter a "prostitute,"
and a little girl, who could scarcely appreciate the
meaning of the word, addressed her sister in the same
fashion.

In adolescence the thoughts of the children of the 883
townspeople are turned to more serious matters, those of 868
the youths toward a career and those of the girls toward
marriage. The boys of the lower classes are gradually
introduced to the trades of their fathers, helping them
in the shops, and the girls must account for many of the
domestic tasks. The sons of the wealthier townspeople are 872
occupied the greater part of the year with their education, 565
while aristocratic youths usually ignore both school and 883
labor, following their fathers and elder brothers. The
daughters of a number of wealthy families in Rowandus

attend school, but none has yet sought any other career 872
than that of the housewife. For the youths, failure in 883 565
school is a personal and domestic tragedy of great moment, 861
because it precludes a career in the government or the 872
army, and they are often severely castigated by their disappointed fathers. At the same time, politics, the 521
primary conversational topic of the townsmen, becomes an 883
extravagant interest of the young men, and such matters are
discussed endlessly. Homosexuality, or, at least, a very 838
intimate masculine friendship, can be a temporary feature 883
of this period, usually ended by marriage. It must be
confessed that many of the young men of the town spend
much of their time unemployed, lounging in the *chaykhanas*
or tea-shops where, through enlisted personnel of the
army or certain vagrants, they can be exposed to influence
of this type.[1] A person listened to an elder brother 861
berating one of his juniors for spending too much time in 883
the tea-shops, a situation of some concern to the family.
Adolescence can thus be a time of great stress for many
of the youths of the town, and distraught young men form
a type frequently encountered.

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[1] One was consulted by many of the townspeople for medicine or advice. One youth of the lower classes complained of "weakness," and sought some sort of remedy. On being questioned, he confessed that se coitum cum asinis per noctes fecisse, but this, prohibited by both religious and civil law, appeared to be a rare and isolated example. It does, however, illustrate the extremes which stringency in premarital sexual relations can create.

There is a strong prejudice against unmarried adults, and both youths and maidens are wed by their parents soon after it is believed they have reached maturity, usually at sixteen years for the girls and eighteen for the boys. Strong feeling is also found against arranging the marriage of a daughter younger than one of her unmarried sisters. Romantic love, just as it is understood in Europe and America, is a prominent feature of adolescence, although there is little chance of any physical realization prior to the wedding. A youth and maiden in love may arrange rare meetings in secret, and exchange gifts, embroidered handkerchiefs, flowers, apples, or even rings. If both are literate, they may send notes to one another. Most of these affairs, however, are confined to the exchange of passionate glances at public festivals, such as a birth, a circumcision, or one of the religious feasts, and are ended by one or the other of the two parties being engaged to some other person. Several young men told of their love for girls in adolescence, and how their parents had ultimately betrothed them, youths and maidens alike, to persons they hardly knew or did not particularly desire. It is possible for either a youth or a maiden to balk at such arrangements, occasionally with success. "If a daughter loves a certain youth and her parents ask her to marry another, she may refuse them. She cannot reveal the identity of her loved one to her father or brother (sometimes the youth is unaware of this passion), but her mother usually knows the person of whom she is enamoured,

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and, if suitable, tries to arrange the match." As previously noticed, couples on the rarest occasions may elope, taking sanctuary with a chieftain who will arrange their marriage. Almost all, however, defer to the wishes of their elders.

When the choice of a bride has been made, by the youth and his parents or by the parents alone, two parties, one of male relatives and friends and the other of females, excluding the boy and his father and mother, are dispatched to the house of the girl, sending notice of their arrival in advance. At this house the men are ushered into the guest-room and the women gather in another room. Many idle pleasantries are exchanged, and the men of the youth's party, in a circuitous fashion, extoll his virtues at length until there is no doubt that the father of the girl understands their errand. No mention is made of a match, in order that the maiden's parent, if the alliance must be declined, may excuse himself gracefully. The parties then take their leave, after arranging a second meeting. The parents of the girl now discuss the matter with their daughter and other relatives of the household. The consent of all, particularly that of the son of the father's brother, must be obtained. At the second meeting with the representatives of the youth, the father of the maiden expresses his approval, if the match is agreed upon, and the important matter of the dowry is decided by relatives other than the parents of the pair concerned.

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With this information, the party of the youth again departs, and, if the sum find approval, final negotiations, the dates of the payment of the _maqadam_, the first part of the dowry, and the ceremony of betrothal are made.

It would be incorrect to relate the ceremonies of betrothal and wedding in Rowanduz to those commonly understood in contemporary Europe or America. In Rowanduz the betrothal corresponds to our civil registration of marriage and the ceremony performed by a priest or minister, and the wedding to our reception and the consummation of the match. For betrothal in Rowanduz, the first formality to be carried out is the civil contract. Representatives of the youth and maiden meet in the court of the judge, the _hakim_, from whom a document authorizing the marriage, with certain parts left incomplete, is obtained. On the day appointed for the betrothal, the _mulla_ and two witnesses of his selection are summoned to the house of the girl. A party made up of the youth, his father, his male relatives, and friends arrives next. The youth and his father are seated on the floor facing the parent or deputy of the girl, the _mulla_ on one side. The form of the interview, like inheritance, is a matter of religious law, but might be reviewed here briefly. First, the _mulla_, after reciting from the Quran, asks the father of the girl if he agrees to the match. Receiving an affirmative reply, he now directs that the girl be called. She stands behind a door, concealed from the company. The _mulla_ inquires her name and if she also agrees. Again, receiving affirmation,

he asks the same question of the youth. When the youth 584
consents, the *mulla* requires the maiden's father or deputy to repeat a formula in which he formally gives the girl in marriage. Taking up a pen, he then supplies, with some flourish, the names of the parties concerned and the sums of the dowry on the contract, and the document is signed by himself, the two witnesses, the youth, and the father of the girl. The ceremony is completed by further recitation from the Quran by the *mulla* and mutual congratulations. The youth usually kisses the hands of the *mulla*, his new father-in-law, and the witnesses.

The festivities of the betrothal are small in com- 585
parison with those of the wedding. There are banquets at the homes of the parents, and perhaps some dancing and
music, but these only demand part of a day. The *muqqadam*, [583]
the primary fraction of the dowry, is typically paid to the father of the maiden by one of the male relatives of the suitor when the contract is signed. At the same time, the mother of the youth sends an expensive gift of jewelry,
bracelets and earrings, to the girl. The period between 584
the betrothal and the wedding varies, from several weeks to a year, and the two persons engaged are permitted great freedom in their relations. If the youth can meet secretly with his fiancée, he may kiss her and present her with a ring, a plain piece of jewelry, sometimes setting a stone or cut glass, usually worn on a finger of the right hand. Some men wear such rings themselves. At the same time, most

girls exhibit shyness and what may be described as willfulness in their behavior. "If the young man is a guest at her house and asks her for a glass of water, she may refuse him and the other people will laugh." Both boy and girl are embarrassed by a certain amount of joking by their elders and companions, and chafing a young man about his coming wedding is a common form of amusement. During this period, the girl's father is expected to have doubled the sum of the muqqadam from his own resources, and it is expended on the clothing, household needs, and jewelry of the prospective bride. Both houses are scenes of intense activity in preparation for the wedding. 584 [522] [583]

When a day has been selected for the wedding celebration, one of the elder men of the youth's family makes a tour of the town, inviting relatives and friends of his household. A similar invitation is issued by the father and brothers of the maiden. Those invited send many gifts of food to the two houses. On the forenoon of the wedding, the mother and sisters of the bride bathe and dress her carefully, rebraiding her hair and staining her hands with henna. Members of her family take presents of henna to the townspeople with which the recipients paint their fingers. One can always recognize a wedding-guest for some weeks afterward by such marks. At the two houses, those of the bridegroom and the bride, parties of guests assemble, and refreshments and banquets are given throughout the day, the brother or most intimate friend of the youth receiving the 585 [302] people and supervising the entertainment. A party of men is assembled at the home of the bridegroom, and the bridegroom himself is seated on a horse. This group, leading the animal, makes its way through the town, accompanied by shouting, music, and the noise of rifles fired in the air. Arriving at the house of the maiden, the bridegroom dismounts and is led inside with his followers to be offered food and drink. A second group, made up of the bride and her female relatives and friends, is formed, and the bride also mounts an extravagantly caparisoned horse. A more striking procession now begins, headed by the bridegroom and his men. Following these are the bride, her relatives and friends, and the rear is brought up by donkeys and porters carrying the new household goods, clothing, and other treasures in brightly painted chests. The Kurds take great delight in discharging firearms on such occasions, and permission for this must be obtained from the government. When the bride of a chieftain was taken by automobile to Batas from Rowandus, several thousand rounds were fired in the air along the route. The bridegroom arrives at his parental home before the bride, and takes up a station on the roof or balcony, furnished with a tray filled with grain, coins, and candy. When the bride is led up on her horse, he showers the contents of this tray over her and her women. As she dismounts, a sheep is slaughtered before the door of the house and her shoe is dipped in its blood before she can enter. 585 [492] [411] [656]

The consummation of the marriage is usually deferred

until nightfall, and the time intervening is occupied by 585
feasting and dancing. The wedding-dance is the *sha'i*, a [535]
round dance performed by a circle of men and women, sometimes
including the bride or bridegroom, holding each
other by the shoulders, with musicians playing the small [534]
drum, tambourine, and the wooden flute in the center. The
wedding-guests have sent offerings of food, and the father [431]
of the youth in return favors them with gifts of handkerchiefs,
turbans, and other articles of clothing. Most of
the women, in the presence of so many male relatives, are
unveiled, although a few remain indoors. The bride is [292]
carefully dressed in bright materials, and wears a white
headcloth which can be drawn across the face as a veil.
Kurdish chieftains attend weddings in their districts,
whether of Muslims or Nestorian Christians, and enjoy
themselves sitting on horseback, watching the festivities
and firing their weapons. They lend color and prestige
to the celebration, and are welcome visitors. Government
officials, in contrast, are rarely encountered at such an
event. When the bride and bridegroom are ready to retire, [431]
the latter is equipped with a present, a coin or a piece [272]
of jewelry. At the door of their room, an old woman of
the house, often a servant, waits with a glass of water
or sherbet. The bride drinks half of this, and her
husband the remainder, giving the old woman the present
in exchange. Alone together, the bride is expected, in
an almost ritualized fashion, to repulse her husband's

initial advance, and he must slap her or draw his knife with a threatening gesture. This done, sometimes seriously, the couple may retire to their bed. 585

The virginity of a maiden must be attested, and from the white undergarments and bedding the maid who makes up the room in the morning is able to report on her "virtue," for the only test is the blood of the hymen. Occasionally the youth will smear a handkerchief with this blood and present it to his mother. In either case, the mother kisses the girl on the forehead and praises her for her chastity. The stained handkerchief, accompanied by an expensive gift, may be sent to the mother of the girl. If no blood is in evidence, a suspicious husband can return the girl to her father's house, and her relatives are more or less obligated to kill her. If, however, the youth's father is "pious," he requests his son to pardon the girl and to say nothing. After the bride has remained for seven days, a delegation of women from her father's house escorts her to her old home for a visit of several days. Her husband comes to take her a second time, on this occasion with no ceremony, and exchanges gifts with his father-in-law at this meeting. The feasting and dances which accompany the wedding can endure for a week or more, but most townspeople consider two or three days sufficient. The marriages of the poor are conducted with less ostentation, although relatively high sums may be expended, and those of the Kurdish aristocracy with the greatest display, the slaughter of dozens of animals [586] [627] [684]

and delegations of guests from all parts of Kurdish Iraq. 585
When a woman, divorced or widowed, is married a second 587
time, the festivities are meager compared with those described above, confined to informal banquets for the two households concerned.

Divorce, like inheritance and betrothal, is a matter 586
of religious and civil law, and the townspeople and the [671]
Kurds in general, inasmuch as they seem to follow no customs which contravene the code, have nothing to do with these formulations. For a man, divorce is a simple proceeding in Muslim Iraq, for he need only come into the presence of the judge or the _mulla_ or priest, with two witnesses, and subscribe to one of the several formulae, of which the simplest is saying, in Kurdish, to his wife, _tallaqum bo dayt_ (the verb from Arabic _tallaqa_, "to divorce,"), "I divorce you." According to Islamic prescription, a husband can divorce his wife twice in this fashion and each time take her back, but the third recitation is
absolutely binding. Only if the woman marries a third [587]
party and is subsequently divorced by him can she rejoin her first spouse in another marriage. If a man wishes to make the divorce final on the first occasion, he repeats the formula three times. Of the minor separations, those of the first or second occasions, there are two types. In the first of these the woman asks no compensation, and the divorce admits of easy reunion. In the second, the woman demands and is paid the _mu'akhar_, that part of the

dowry withheld until this time, and a new contract must 586 be signed if the pair are to come together again. In the major separation, that of triple divorce, the woman also receives the *mu'akhar* and her personal possessions. A certain length of time, the *idda*, corresponding roughly to three menstrual periods, must elapse, and, if the woman [843] becomes pregnant during it, her former husband is respon- [851] sible for the maintenance of herself and the child. Children usually remain with the mother in divorce, but their father may claim them after they have reached a certain age. In addition to divorce, a husband may go to the court or the *mulla* with witnesses, and obtain a certificate that his wife has been "refractory," in which case he is entitled to "put her away." [562] A woman can only initiate divorce proceedings with difficulty, and is usually forced to renounce her dowry. She also may obtain a certificate of "refractory" behavior for herself and by this means leave her husband, although the latter, from perversity, may later refuse to grant her a divorce. There are, as one might expect, a host of legal subtleties in these cases, and, as an extensive body of Islamic jurisprudence deals with them, there is no need to treat them in detail here.

The principal causes of divorce in Rowanduz are incompatability and barrenness. In the first case, the judge or *mulla* and the relatives of the pair attempt to reconcile them, because, for the relatives, financial transactions of a large scale, sometimes embarrassing, usually

follow. The husband or his relatives may be forced to 586
pay the *mu'akher*, always a considerable sum, and the
father of the wife, in addition to having an unmarried
woman on his hands, may lose the amounts he included with
the dowry in his daughter's wedding. Unofficial separations
of varying length are thus as common as divorce,
during which the two parties of relatives, or, indeed,
one of the couple, try to effect a reunion. Barrenness 842
puts both husband and wife in a more difficult position, 586
for a man's desire for a male heir can easily override
his love for his wife, particularly, as often happens, in
those matches in which he had little to do with his
choice of a spouse. Divorces are far less frequent after
the birth of the first boy, and it is perhaps partially
for this reason that a young married woman is as desirous
of a son as her husband, having recourse to certain
popular religious procedures believed to aid in producing
a male heir. Most persons cannot afford or will not counte- [595]
nance a second wife if the first is barren, and a divorce
follows. Fortunately for the women, the Kurds do not
believe that because a woman has been childless in one
marriage she will remain so in the next.

The life of adults in Rowanduz, once the problems 461
of a career and sex have more or less been solved, has
little of the stress encountered in adolescence. Persons
of the lower classes, both men and women, must spend the
greater part of their waking hours in seeking a livelihood,
and the wealthiest townspeople and the Kurdish aristocrats [556],

are unemployed, devoting their days to leisure. There 461 [556]
are no organized adult sports of any sort in the town. 517
Several of the young men who own rifles and shotguns do [224]
some hunting, and a great many love excursions into the
countryside, such as a picnic at the waterfall of Baykhal
behind the town. For everyday entertainment most men
prefer the physical inactivity of the guest-rooms, the
tea-shops, or the gardens. *Tawli* or backgammon and *dama* [524]
or checkers are played at great length, while *shatranj*,
chess, has almost disappeared, although it is still remembered
from Ottoman times. One thing universally regretted by the 538
townspeople is the disappearance of the wandering story-
tellers who, in consideration of a bounty, held forth in
the tea-shops or the guest-rooms of the chieftains, nor
have they been replaced, for the town boasts no cinema, [546] [207]
radios are few in number, and newspapers or books are [204]
never regularly received. Some of the townsmen have a
considerable repertoire of stories, many concerning such
comic figures as Abu Nuwas or Mulla Nasir al-Din, but it
is said that they cannot compare with the artistry dis-
played by the old professionals. A short story of Abu
Nuwas, as told in Rowanduz, will provide an example of the
type of anecdote:

> One day Abu Nuwas borrowed a small cooking vessel from his neighbor, and on the next, after hiding the original pot, returned one much larger and of greater value. "The pot is different," remarked the neighbor cautiously, puzzled by the change. "The pot gave birth," returned Abu Nuwas, "and I have returned its offspring." "Marvellous!" cried the neighbor, pleased with his gain, "I welcome the son of the pot." Thereafter Abu Nuwas borrowed each 539

> day a larger pot from this neighbor, and each time 539
> returned one still larger. Finally, as had been
> his original intention, Abu Nuwas borrowed his
> neighbor's largest vessel, one of the greatest
> value because it was large enough to feed a company
> of soldiers. This he failed to return, keeping it
> with the intention of selling it. After several
> days, the neighbor called Abu Nuwas, and inquired
> greedily if the great vessel had given birth.
> "God remains," sighed Abu Nuwas piously, "the pot
> is dead." "What!" shouted the enraged neighbor,
> "How can a pot die?" Abu Nuwas placed his arm
> gently on the other's arm and said, "Think care-fully
> what the judge will say to this after you
> have accepted the offspring of so many pots. How
> can a pot give birth?"

The elder women also tell the children folktales of various 538
types, but it was not possible to record any of them in
detail. The townsmen make little use of the nadi or "club" 517
of the officials and officers, nor are they interested in [529]
alcoholic beverages or gambling. A few, while on a journey [484]
in Baghdad, Erbil, or Mosul, may be attracted by the [547]
cabarets or the houses of prostitution, but these occasions [549]
are rare and there are no such institutions in the town
or the Rowandus district.

In masculine conversation, politics, both domestic 521
and international, overshadow any other intellectual topic,
and, as might be expected, are strongly coloured by Kurdish
nationalism. It is unusual to find a group of Kurds discussing
matters of philosophy, science, religion, or the
like, and such things find a very small part in current
interest. The Kurd, it might be said, is not particularly
concerned whether the earth is round or flat, but will hold
forth on contemporary affairs in the Middle East almost [648]
interminably. Kurdish nationalism, as noted at the outset, [668]

like similar movements among the Arabs, the Greeks, and 521
others, first became a potent factor in everyday life 668
during the nineteenth century, and its principal target 648
at the time was the crumbling Ottoman Empire. Its early protagonists were educated Kurdish officials and officers, organized in the familiar "literary" or "artistic" societies, and from them it spread in more or less extravagant forms to all classes of society. This preoccupation with ethnic independence, however, is not purely political, but is linked with the impingement of the modern state on a society at once tribal and feudal. To this end the warriors for Kurdish nationalism have been the chieftains, who have something more to gain than the vote, and its orators the men of the educated upper class, a point which must be discussed again in concluding this study. Agents of the Allied Powers left the Kurds under the impression they were to be given an independent state in the settlements which followed the first World War, and, insofar as this has been universally denied them (Kurdish literature, for example, is prohibited in Turkey), it is the starting
point of most of their arguments. It is unnecessary to 521
treat these nationalistic sentiments in great detail, be- 668
cause, with the ordinary passage of events in the Middle East, they can be exceedingly ephemeral, the friend of one day becoming the enemy of the next. Needless to say, the Kurds themselves are the heroes of these discussions, and, like many popular political expressions, such utterances

are often unrealistic. These matters, however repetitious, 521
are one of the most popular forms of masculine entertain- [668]
ment.

Conversation is also the principal source of amuse-
ment for the women, although, in the case of women of the
upper classes, wives of the wealthier townsmen, the chief-
tains, and the government elite, it is confined to the
privacy of their homes. Women of the lower classes gossip
freely with one another on the streets or within the women's
mosque. Unlike the men, among whom it commands primary
interest, a discussion of politics holds little for a woman,
and they are occupied with matters which seem to have
greater immediate importance, the many topics of gossip
which can arise in a small town. Visiting, as previously 574
noticed, is for both sexes an everyday diversion, accom-
panied either with refreshments or a formal banquet, but 527
public festivals, with music and dancing, provide through-
out the year the only outstanding entertainment known by
all the townspeople. Those which are held in connection
with a birth, a circumcision, or a wedding can occur at
any season. The religious feasts, *Jayjani Ramazan* and *Jay-* 796
jani Kurban, are determined by the lunar calendar and 527
take place at a different time, several weeks earlier,
each year. The *Sayran* festivals always come in the spring,
and, although they are nominally secular, their obvious
sacred origin has led one to discuss them with religious
life.

Such festivals are marked by dancing and music, 527 796
nd, as these are subjects in themselves, only the
riefest descriptions are presented here. The usual 535
ype of dance is that of the *[illegible]*, the wedding celebra-
ion, and is performed by a circle of men and women with
nterlocked arms following a leader, the rear usually
rought up by the host of the party or his deputy. The
ance has three variations, *sarper'i*, "going in the
irection of the leader's right hand," *chaper'i*, "going
n the direction of the leader's left hand, and *rew'ig*
'walking instead of dancing, and changing step." The
ance step itself, for want of a better description, is a
huffle which takes one in a lateral direction. Kurdish 533
usic is similar to that of the Arabs, the Iranians,
nd the Turks, a single melodic line in a minor key,
haracterized by the appoggiatura and turn, against a
rhythmic background. Musical instruments, in Rowanduz 534
layed only by amateurs, include the small drum, the
ambourine, and the single or double reed flute. The
lute is also widely used by the Kurds, but it is not
found at present in the town. A program of typical 207
Kurdish music may be heard broadcast daily by an Iraq 533
government radio station. The investigator usually [123]
tuned in this music for the benefit of the women of the
house in which he was living at Rowanduz. Once the 571
eldest daughter presented a request that "the *bey* tell [207]
the man" to play a certain song she wanted to hear at
the moment, which indicated a sixteen-year old girl's
Knowledge of radio.

knowledge of radio. She also always referred to the investigator as "the gentleman from Mosul," the farthest point of her geography. Without entering into extended discussion, it might be said here, in concluding the remarks on adult entertainment, that the educational level of the townspeople, excepting those who have attended school, is extremely low. One often offered persons of the lower class in Rowanduz and later in Egypt a small sum if they could name the first four caliphs, equivalent to asking an American or European Christian for the names of the first four books of the New Testament, and it was surprising how few were able to accomplish this seemingly easy feat. 871 [837]

If a man feels that he is approaching death, he often makes out his will in advance, a formality regulated by the government and arranged through the court of the judge. If a rich person has been unable to make the pilgrimage to Mecca during his lifetime, he usually sets aside a certain amount to be paid to someone who will make the journey in his name. Persons of great wealth or chieftains occasionally allot sums to be given to poor people who visit their graves and recite a prayer for them. When death takes place, all of the female relatives of the deceased and their friends gather at the house. "A certain old woman comes who sings in such a way that the people weep. This is Amina Dakia who is also the corpse-washer, *mirda shor*, for the women. She earns her livelihood by serving in the houses of the rich, 763 [428] [788] [765] 764 767 [571]

764
[767]

cooking and baking, and is also a midwife." The women, squatting in the courtyard or before the house, smear their faces with dirt as a sign of grief. Then the corpse-washer, normally a barber, arrives with his assistants. Two tins of hot water are prepared, and the deceased is stretched naked on a board which serves as a bier. The corpse-washer first cleanses the areas under the arms and between the legs, and presses the abdomen to force out any excrement. With the second tin of hot water the whole body is washed, and the nails and hair of the deceased are trimmed. The corpse is then wrapped in a white winding sheet, usually containing a dozen or more square yards of material. Only the wealthy can afford coffins of wood, manufactured by the local carpenters, and most of the dead are interred without them.

A procession now takes place, leading from the house of the deceased to the mosque and then to the cemetery. "Everyone in the town, rich or poor, follows the bier, and the body is carried by many men, continually changing place so that each may receive the blessing of God for this pious act." The relatives and friends of the dead man walk directly behind the bier, and with them are the *mullas* or priests of the town. The procession halts before the great mosque, and one of the *mullas* customarily recites from the Koran and gives a brief eulogy of the deceased. Arriving at the graveyard above the town, there are further recitations and the body is buried. A curious usage is recorded in this connection. If a man dies at night or when it is raining, the body is carried immediately to the mosque and left inside. The mullas read over it throughout the night, and tea is offered visitors on the porch of the building. The corpse-washer comes to the mosque and carries out his tasks there. It might be mentioned that ordinary burial is always performed on the day of death. The grave is prepared by laborers prior to the arrival of the procession, and is so oriented that when the corpse is laid within on its right side, the face will look in the general direction of Mecca, in Rowanduz to the southwest. After the grave has been filled, the relatives and friends of the deceased return home, and refreshments are given to all callers. Gifts of food are sent to the house by friends and neighbors. Another interesting custom now appears. Three days after the burial, a barber is called to cut the hair of the new head of the family of the deceased, if the latter has occupied this position. The house itself is rarely abandoned, except in those cases, common in the Middle East, in which some accident connected with the death, for example, one of the family getting blood on his hands, leads people to believe that continued occupancy would cause bad fortune. 764 765 [302] [767]

There is no specific period of mourning, although it is usually several months before normal life is resumed. The men of the family wear no visible sign, but the women 765

put on dark coloured clothing, black or deep blue. For 765
most persons, an annual visit to the grave is required,
and at this time a sheep is sacrificed and its flesh dis-
tributed to the poor. Wealthier persons may enjoy weekly
visits and sacrifices, and those of the lower classes
must often ignore even the yearly sacrifice. The funerals 764
of women and children, depending on the status of their 562
husbands or fathers, are conducted with less ostentation. 858
There is no definite pattern of commemoration, weekly or
annual, and, in answer to the inquiry, it was always said
that these memorial parties of both men and women visited
the grave "as long as all shall live."

The cemetery of Rowandus occupies the flat crest of 764
the hill behind the town, and is dominated by a large oak
tree, one of the few in the area, a point which will be [197]
encountered again. The graves are oriented in parallel
lines with their heads pointed to the northwest. Most are
oblong mounds plastered with mortar rising about a foot
above the surface of the ground with a crudely hewn slab
of stone, several feet in height, at each end. In some
cases, the headstone of one serves as the foot of the
next. Only a few have inscriptions, some etched and
others carved in relief, and there was only one sarcophagus [211]
in the graveyard, a box of stone slabs bound with metal
clasps and elaborately carved decorations. Family burial
plots are separated by low fences of interlaced thorn.
Two graves were surrounded by a low, quadrilateral rubble 766
wall, indicating the grave of a *sayyid*, a descendant of

the Prophet's tribe, or a holy man. The identities of 766
these two had been forgotten. In one there was the conventional white rag tied to a pole leaning against the wall, and in the other a tattered green banner hanging from a flagpole whose ornament was a flat metal hand, the [951]
"Hand of Fatima" previously mentioned. Some graves had a 764
large quantity of broken blue porcelain scattered over them, and it was said that this custom was followed if the deceased was a young man, both to indicate the grave as such and to avert further misfortune. There are indications, however, that breaking porcelain at death is a cultural trait of some antiquity, and further study might prove it an interesting index of historical connection. The townspeople seem to take little care of their graveyard, [233]
and flocks customarily find pasture there, gathering under the oak for shelter in the summer heat.

The mausoleum of Isma'il Beg might be mentioned 766
separately, because it is not found in the graveyard, but beside the great house now ruled by Lali Khan, and differs considerably from the typical Kurdish grave described above. It is a small, square wooden building with a pitched roof (itself a rarity in Kurdistan) entered by a door kept locked during the night. The interior walls and ceiling are plastered and painted with a light wash. To the right of the door the sarcophagus stands, covered with cloth so that identification of its material was not permitted. Against the center of the wall facing the door,

next to the sarcophagus, is a wooden stand on which are to be found bowls of flowers and a framed photograph of the deceased. Visitors to the house are expected to call at the mausoleum, and to recite the Fatiha, the opening chapter of the Quran, for the benefit of the dead. A tomb arranged in this way, while it is not usual in Kurdistan, is characteristically Islamic, and similar structures for the burial of great persons may be encountered almost everywhere in the Middle East. 766 [788] [769]

In closing this section, it might be remembered that it was chosen to confine the discussion to the Kurdish townspeople. The family life of the Kurdish aristocracy is identical with that of the commoners of the town, save in the broader inclusion of relatives in the famillira and in the size and splendor of its celebrations. That of the government elite, the officials and officers of Arab or Turkish descent, has a background elsewhere in Iraq. The language and customs in an official's family are usually Arabic. This last, however, must be taken with qualification because the government elite are largely recruited from the upper class of society, and, as educated "moderns," may ignore, or, indeed, be ignorant of the folk customs of their village or town of origin. Similarly, the family of a married official, if he has brought his wife to Rowanduz, is limited in the sense that it is separated from the large body of kindred to which it belongs in another area, and a number of events in the official's life, such as inheritance 565 593

or marriage, have their focus in that place, rather than 565
in the town. It is interesting that this class, which 593
regards itself as "modern" and "progressive," should re- [184]
inforce things held to be reactionary by some of the towns-
people, specifically the absolute segregation of women.
Even a radically-minded official would not dare to let his
wife have the same freedom in the town she can enjoy in
Baghdad or some other city. The townspeople often commented
on the peculiar behavior of the medical officer who kept
his wife in the greatest seclusion, although those who had
caught a glimpse of her said she was no particular beauty.
This segregation on the part of the officials and officers
has an automatic effect on the townspeople of greater
wealth who do the same to their own wives and daughters
where otherwise they might have permitted them greater
liberty.

The primary task of this section has been to present 593
an analysis of the family life of the average townsman, and [n.1]
it is important to notice that the family does not seem to
constitute an important area of change in the transforma-
tion of the culture. Ra'uf Effendi, like so many elders, [178]
remarked that the society of the town had changed for the
worse from Ottoman days, but, on going over all of the
affairs of the family, he was only able to conclude that [888]
"youth had greater respect for age" fifty years ago. In
spite of this observation, the family in Rowanduz is still
a distinctly patriarchal organization and its members are

bound to it by strong ties. In contrast, in the families of the government elite, not those of the town, but others encountered in different areas of Iraq, the larger family can break down, sons rebelling against their fathers and disassociating themselves from their relatives. It is in the official class, rather than among groups such as the commoners or aristocrats of Rowandus, that alcoholism and suicide is found. 593 [762] [733] [565]

It has not been thought necessary to compare the family life of Rowandus at every point with that of other Islamic groups, for that would require material so extensive that it would double the size of this study and obscure its central theme. The reader who wishes to do so may have reference to a number of works, for example, Edward Lane's remarkably detailed treatment of Egyptian life in the nineteenth century, and one feels confident that he will reach an identical conclusion, that the structure of the family in Rowandus is almost the same as that found in similar towns in Egypt or Syria.[1] The departures of Rowandus, for example, cutting the hair of the new head of a dead man's household, are not large in number and are wholly in detail. The usages of the townspeople seem to be much less elaborate than those of, say, the inhabitants of Egypt in the nineteenth century, but further investigation in the Rowandus district which would take into account the agricultural villages might reveal additional peculiarities. 593 171 171 184

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[1] Lane, 1908.

It is believed that the displacement of the town's population during the first World War has acted to eliminate or submerge local differences which might once have been more striking. At the same time, however, the town, like the great city, levels off the divergent customs, such as that of tattooing, of the persons who migrate there from the countryside.

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CHAPTER VII

RELIGIOUS LIFE

In the preceding pages a number of instances have 771 been encountered in which religious belief and practice enter into the routine of the town, and it now remains to add to them those which, albeit inextricably bound up in everyday life, can be treated of themselves. Primarily, the "official" faith of the townspeople will be spoken of, in the sense that it has been defined by Islamic priests themselves, to which may be subtended a secondary body of credences and observances, not necessarily "religious" in the usual sense of the term, conveniently dealt with in this connection. The faith of the townsman is undifferentiated from that of the aristocrat, but is not necessarily identical with that of the government official or officer, several of whom, as has been seen, are Shiite Arabs from southern Iraq or Christians.

It is necessary to place the people of Rowanduz, 779 as well as the Kurds of northern Iraq, in some perspective with the rest of the believing world. First, their faith is that of *Islam* ("submission" to God or Allah) preached by the Arab prophet Muhammad (d. 632) and carried by his heirs into the Kurdish mountains as it was elsewhere in the world. This is a religion which, according to a generality [774] of modern scholarly opinion, constitutes a syncretism of ancient Arabic, Judaic, and Christian beliefs, together with whatever elements of originality the Prophet himself had added. The sacred book of the *Muslim* ("one who submits"), the adherent of Islam, is the *Quran* ("recitation" from the command of its messenger to Muhammed, *iqra*, "recite!"), the revelation of God vouchsafed through the Angel Gabriel to Muhammed in *suras* (a word originally meaning a course of stones or bricks), or chapters, of a varying number of verses, a total of 114 such chapters making up the entire volume. The townspeople are now, without exception, Muslims, and the everyday import of this faith shall form the basis of the discussion to follow. 779 [174]

With the death of the Prophet, the Islamic world, from that day to this, has been torn by the continual divergence of schools and sects, most of them political in origin, many ephemeral, and a few achieving a dignity of a state religion. Amid the greater divisions of Islam, the people of Rowanduz belong to the party of the *Sunna* ("custom"), or orthodoxy, of which recognition of the legitimacy of the first four successors of the Prophet is perhaps the best known characteristic. With other Sunnite peoples of northern Iraq, Syria, and Turkey, the Kurds are in sharp doctrinal opposition to the *Shi'ah* ("party," from *Shi'at 'Ali*, "the party of 'Ali") of southern Iraq and Iran, a state religion in the latter country from the time of the Safavid Shahs (1501-1736), which insists on the primacy of 795

the son-in-law of the Prophet and his descendants. Some- 795
thing of the dirisive aversion of the Sunnite Kurd for his
eastern neighbor has already been seen, although phrased
as much in ethnic as in religious terms. Of the four
Medieval Sunnite schools of religious law, Hanifite,
Malikite, Shafi'ite, and Hanbalite, the Kurds nominally
belong to that founded by Abu Hanife (d. 767), originally
a following noted for its liberal tendencies and the ad-
mission of logic in formulating legislation, now, however,
crystallized into a rite not differing too greatly from its
surviving fellows.

Beyond this brief classification, it is of no pur- 771
pose here to enter into an extended discussion of the 121
theological content of Islam insofar as it does not per-
tain to daily life, for, not only are these matters ex-
haustively and competently treated elsewhere, they are
largely of no moment to the townsman or chieftain. The
investigator was often told, on inquiring into some matter
of religion, that "one must ask the *mulla* these questions,"
just as many Christians refer weightier queries to their
priest or minister. In noting the Shiite insistence that 173
the successors of the Prophet be of his own blood, the 554
sayyid ("lord") or descendant of the Tribe of Muhammad might 792
be mentioned. Many persons in the Rowanduz district, as
well as several in the town itself, lay claim to this
distinction, which carries with it the prerogative of [292]
wearing a green turban and the enjoyment, if they choose
to exploit it, of a reputation for sanctity. This descent

may be traced through either parent, and almost anyone, if genealogies were regularly kept by the commoners, could find some relative from whom the title might be claimed. The only sayyid in Rowandus who made use of the green turban was a poor and elderly blacksmith, something of an extrovert, who also wore a beard to increase his appearance of saintliness. The chieftains, many of whom have the title, usually avoid these appearances, such as Sayyid Ahmad of Batas who dressed in the same fashion as the other aristocrats. Whether these pedigrees are genuine or bogus is impossible to say, for the Arab penetration of Kurdistan has gone on for many centuries, but one may suspect that, insofar as the title accords a little social distinction, many of these claims, at some point, are as valid as those of some pretentious Englishman who finds ancestors for himself who landed with the Conqueror or an American who discovers forebears on the Mayflower. 173 554 792

The religious phraseology of the townspeople is in the Arabic language. All of their prayers, pious utterances, and, indeed, their expletives are in Arabic, while everyday speech is Kurdish. Prayer will be dealt with below. The most common expletive, heard constantly in the conversation of the day, is simply Ullah, "God." It can be used in a variety of contexts, some of them pious and many quite otherwise. The tired merchant stretching himself on his cushions or bed may utter a long-drawn out Ullah, and the same is applied to a welcome glass of tea, a lovely woman, or the like. It should not be supposed, of course, 198 782 782 that the number of times the name of the deity is enunciated 782 indicates the piety of the population. With the Prophet it is quite different, for one never hears him spoken of irreverently or in a secular context. It is not customary to call him by name, but rather al-Rasul, "the Apostle," or al-Nabi, "the Prophet," and either the speaker or someone else present adds, sala Ullahu 'alayhi wa salam, "the prayer (blessing) of God upon him and the peace," whenever he is mentioned. The Quran is held in similar respect. 778 The volume must never be handled with levity, or left uncovered when not in use. An official told how his servant removed his copy of the Quran from the room in which he was drinking arrack, in some way personifying the book, in which the use [273] of alcoholic beverages is forbidden, as God himself. Metal cases or cloth envelopes, usually green in color, are used to enclose it, or else it is tied up in a scarf or handkerchief.

The great mosque, Jama'a al-Kabir, in Rowanduz is a 346 large, square building of rubble on the central square of the bazar or mercantile area, its rear wall facing the qibla, the direction of Mecca, to which prayer is addressed. The building on its front is raised about six feet above the square and one reaches its porch by a series of roughly cut stone stairs. The roof is of mud rolled on bundles of poles and twigs, and covers the porch as well as the main room and the annex. This is to the right of the main door, a small door of the room opening on the porch and large unglassed windows overlooking the square. It is used for

reading, meditation, and conversation, and the chief *mulla* 346
or priest is usually found there. There is no furniture [352] [353]
in this room and its floor is covered with carpets. Mattresses
run along the sides on which visitors seat themselves cross-
legged, and the interior wall contains niches which serve
as shelves for a large number of tattered copies of the [217]
Quran and other devotional works, the only public library [778]
in the town. One must remove his shoes before entering [576]
this annex or the main room of the mosque. The latter [291]
room because of its large size, has four tree trunks stripped
of their bark set up at four points around its center to
serve as columns for the support of the roof, crotches of
the trunks holding the heavier rafters. The walls are [353]
plastered and whitewashed, and the ceiling is unfinished.
The floor is covered with a number of carpets and mats.
In the center of the rear wall is a plain, pointed niche,
the *mihrab*, which indicates the direction of prayer. To
the right of this niche is the *minbar*, the "pulpit," in
this case a crudely-made set of wide woden steps, some-
thing like a short ladder, leading up the rear wall about
three feet from the floor. At the hour of prayer the [793] [789]
mulla takes his place facing the *mihrab* or niche, and those
assembled in the mosque form ranks behind him and imitate
his intonations and gestures. On Fridays, if a sermon is
called for, the *mulla* ascends one or two steps of the
minbar, and stands facing the congregation to speak. This
main room has no windows and the door is open. Outside
there is a flight of stone steps leading to the roof from

which the _mu'azzin_ calls the townspeople to prayer. To 346
the right of the porch, on the street leading up through [312]
the bazar, is a pump, in 1951 in disrepair, for those [515]
desirous of praying in the mosque to make their ablutions.

The great mosque resembles those classical examples
to be found in the cities of the Middle East in general
aspect, and differs from them in certain ways.[1] It boasts
no minaret or tower from which the _mu'azzin_ might give his
call, and does not have an interior courtyard containing a
tank or fountain of water for purification. More importantly,
it is used by many of the townsmen as a sort of club, and [529]
one may find a number of them in the hours between prayers, [521]
seated or lying on the carpets of the main room, discussing
purely mundane matters. In addition to the wearing of shoes,
smoking and taking refreshment are forbidden within the [784]
mosque, as are animals or immature children. Strangers may [513]
sleep on its floor at night if they wish. It is commonly [485]
held that the restriction of the mosque to religious exercises, as in those of the cities, was a result of Ottoman
influence, and it is interesting to find its secular uses
preserved in Rowanduz. The other three mosques in the town
are nondescript rubble buildings with flat mud roofs. One 346
of these, the women's mosque, is found above the _bazar_ near 562
the civil officials' club, and is notorious in town life [521]
as a center for gossip. Men are not permitted to enter it. 554
Both townsmen and the chieftains make use of the mosques 346 771

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[1] Mazaheri, 1951, pp. 14-17.

whenever they feel inclined, but members of the government elite avoid them. The wives and daughters of wealthier households rarely visit the women's mosque, perhaps because in some matters the women are far less democratic than the men. 346 554 771 [562]

It is commonly said that Islam has no priesthood, but at least one author has written an entire volume to disprove this thesis.[1] The functions of the mulla in Rowandus serve to support the latter view, for they are extremely similar to those of a Christian divine. The mullas in Rowandus have no other occupation, and are supported by funds provided by the townspeople. They are responsible for the maintenance of the mosque and the administration of awqaf, bequests to the faith. They conduct the services in the mosque, and officiate at such occasions as the naming of a child, circumcision, betrothal, and death. They have certain judicial powers, as noted in connection with divorce. On the other hand, they are not formally ordained, nor are they subordinate to any higher authority, although they may, if they choose, be attentive to such figures as, say, the Shaykh of Islam in Egypt or the Mufti of Jerusalem. There were three mullas in Rowandus in 1951, of whom the unofficial leader was Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Effendi, in charge of the great mosque and the control of awqaf. 793 [693]

There is no standard pattern for achieving the priestly office. In Kurdish Iraq a youth who has chosen [774]

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[1] Zwemer, 1946.

this as a career simply starts to study with some *mulla* 874
who already has a position, and, when judged to have 793
shown proficiency, will begin to be supported by the
mosque. Others may study at the mosque-schools in Baghdad,
Damascus, or other cities, or even seek the famous Mosque
of al-Azhar in Cairo. In the first case, the student can
ultimately assist and replace his teacher, or the latter
may find him a congregation of his own, for there is an
exchange of information of this type between the religious
leaders of a given locale. The training itself consists
in reading the Quran and other devotional works, and
committing the necessary prayers and formulae to memory.
These tasks are by no means easy, and demand intellectual
gifts above the average. The "best" *mullas* are those able 793
to rehearse the entire Quran from memory, an exercise
which requires almost a day. The Quran, it might be noted, [551]
is not recited in ordinary tones, but chanted, the voice [592]
rising and falling in various cadences. Because much of
it is poetry, the tonal qualities of the words, the
imagery they convey, and a dramatic and melodious delivery
can elicit the strongest emotional response in listeners.

Mullas are drawn almost exclusively from the ranks [565]
of the commoners, and no one in Rowanduz would think of a
case in which a member of the aristocracy had embraced such
a career. A pious chieftain, as his age and reputation for 792
sanctity increase, becomes known as a *shaikh* (arabic, "old 756
man"), a title which is sometimes hereditary, but does not

officiate in the mosque. Such persons are believed by the 792
villagers to be able to cure illnesses and confer other 756
blessings through some physical quality in their persons.
The office of *mulla* is far from lucrative, although some 793
are privately wealthy, and they are expected to be models
of modest and frugal behavior. One cannot use obscenity [831]
in the presence of a *mulla*, and no one would think of [273]
inviting him to a drinking party. Most persons rise when [576]
a *mulla* enters the room, although the chieftains, if the
mulla is a regular visitor, generally ignore this. The
most respectful way of greeting such a person is to shake
hands with him, and then kiss the palm of one's hand and
place it over the heart. *Mullas* are not bound to celibacy, [589]
and the three in Rowanduz were married. The sons often
follow their father's calling, as in the case of Mulla
'Abd al-Karim Effendi, whose father was Mulla As'ad
Effendi. Of 'Abd al-Karim's family, which belongs to the
wealthy commoner group, one brother was a landowner and
his nephew a teacher. The *mullas* always wear garments in [292]
the Arab style, a single turban bound flat around a skull-cap, a long cloth cassock, and, in winter, a loosely-woven robe.

The *mulla* is assisted by a layman who fills the 794
office of *mu'azzin* (from Arabic *mu'adhdhin*, after *adhan*, 203
the call to prayer) in addition to his regular occupation.
In Rowanduz this was one of the older townsmen, a little
man full of his own importance. The primary task of the
mu'azzin is giving the calls to prayer, again, a chant,

from the roof of the mosque five times each day. The 794
call to prayer is like the *shahada*, the "testimony" of [203]
faith, given in connection with naming the child, with the
addition of one or two phrases. In addition, the *mu'azzin*
arranges minor matters related to the mosque, such as the
distribution of flesh to the poor from a sacrifice for [735]
charity, but receives no compensation. The mosque also
employed a servant who acted as a doorkeeper and was
responsible for its cleanliness. The *mulla* himself, as 793
noted in the section treating society, has a place in the
highest ranks of the commoners, and is usually surrounded
by a group of friends from among the townsmen, noted for
their piety. Inasmuch as Mulla 'Abd al-Karim had a
compelling personality, this following was an extensive
and powerful segment of local society.

The *mullas* are responsible for religious education, 793
because, although Islamic history is a part of the 794
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curriculum in the primary and intermediate schools, religion 869
is not formally taught in any other place than the mosque.
Some parents prefer this training to that of the government
schools. The *mullas* hold classes throughout the year,
but give particular emphasis to the summer when those
children who have occupied other seasons with their
secular education may, at the behest of their parents,
take part. This course is almost solely concerned with
reading and interpretation of the Quran, and thus entails,
initially, the study of the Arabic language. The parents

themselves teach the child the minimum essentials of the religion at home, the testimony of faith, the *Fatiha* or opening chapter of the Quran, and the ritual of prayer. Beyond this parental instruction many do not proceed. Girls may also attend religious classes of their own in the summer, identical in content with those given the boys. Religious training at Rowanduz enjoyed a high reputation in the district, and, unlike the government schools, was attended by poor youths from the agricultural villages who sought a religious career. Just as a *mulla* is not formally ordained, there is no ceremony of confirmation in Islam, and, after circumcision, a boy simply "grows up in the faith." 793 794 871 869

Prayer is required five times daily of every Muslim, 788 male or female. The times of prayer come at dawn, a few minutes after noon, a point approximately between noon and nightfall, a few minutes after sunset, and at nightfall. In addition, an extremely pious person may add two prayers during the night. One must be in a condition of ritual purity to pray, and the usual requirement is the lesser ablution (*wudhu*) which consists of washing the face, hands, and feet. Major pollutions, of which sexual intercourse is outstanding, demand the greater ablution (*ghusl*), a complete bathing of the body. When in a state of purification, the worshipper stands facing in the direction of Mecca at the appointed time, and, placing his hands open on each side of his face, intones the phrase [783 515]

Allahu akbar, "God is greatest." What follows constitutes a *rak'a* ("bowing"), and a varying number of "bows" are necessary at the different times of prayer, for example, two at dawn and four at noon. The worshipper begins a *rak'a* standing upright and reciting the opening chapter of the Quran and additional passages. He next bows at the waist, placing his hands on his thighs, and straightens up. He then drops to his knees, and, placing his hands before him on the ground, puts his face between them, touching the forehead and nose to the earth. After this, he sits back on his haunches, and touches his face to the ground a second time. This constitutes a single *rak'a*, and the movements are accompanied by the repetition of certain phrases, of which "God is greatest" is the most frequent. The worshipper begins a second by standing erect and reciting the opening chapter of the Quran again. After each two *rak'as* and at the end of the prayer, the worshipper recites the *shahada*, the testimony of faith mentioned in connection with naming a child, and other formulae. It has not been thought necessary to record the entire ritual here, for it may be found completely described in a number of other works and is no different in Rowanduz than, say, in Egypt.[1] The townspeople, like other Muslims, perform their devotions anywhere, in the mosque, in their homes, or on the streets. At the noon

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[1] Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 1948, pp. 74-78.

At the noon

prayer on Friday many persons gather in the great mosque, 788
and between the second and third rak'as the mulla may deliver (779)
a short sermon, usually a stereotyped oration. The language of both prayer and sermon is Arabic. It is difficult to (183)
say to what extent the townspeople are faithful to the requirement of prayer, but an observably large number ignore one or more of the five daily. Women often neglect their prayers entirely. The tasbih or rosary has been mentioned in the section treating dress, and may be used in devotional exercises of a personal nature, for example, repetition of prayers or the qualities of God. It is most often used to occupy idle hands, however, the mind of the manipulator on matters far divorced from religion.

In addition to prayer, a Muslim is expected to give 735
away part of his yearly earnings as alms. In the early 779
days of Islam these contributions were of two types, zakat, a fixed proportion of the income, and sadaqat, optional gifts. The zakat have been absorbed into the government system of taxation, and the townspeople of Rowanduz are thus not held liable, outside of their usual taxes, to enforced charity. Many free collections, sadaqat, however, are made throughout the year, for example, aid for the destitute Arab mentioned in the section treating society, and contributions to these charities are regarded as acts
of piety. Another requirement is the duty of pilgrimage 797
to Mecca at least once during the believer's lifetime. In spite of the high cost and the arduous character of the journey, a surprising number of persons in the Rowanduz

district have made the trip, and are entitled to call themselves hajji or "pilgrim." Three men from the town went in 1950, and the wealthy merchants, such as Hajji Ibrahim and Hajji Muhammad Amin, who have completed the task have been mentioned. 788 The return of pilgrims is an event of great importance in Rowanduz, and a crowd gathers to greet them at Kaniskan below the town. 781 527 The pilgrims are escorted from the bus to their homes, accompanied by the music of drum, flute, and tambourine. Banquets are held for them, and each is expected to give a detailed account of his journey. They return with many souvenirs, such as rosaries, which are [43] distributed to relatives and friends. A pilgrim commands a certain amount of public respect, and persons often 554 788 stipulate sums in their wills for another to make the pilgrimage in their name. It is interesting that wealthy commoners can afford this undertaking, while many mullas or priests are rarely able to realize it. Chieftains or members of the government elite who are pilgrims are comparatively few in number. Hajji Muhammad 'Ali Agha of Jindian made the pilgrimage to avoid the police. Few of the aristocrats or officials in Rowanduz itself could claim the distinction. The duty of jihad or Holy War only 779 [72] enters into everyday life as a matter of conversation, usually with reference to Israel, and that of fasting will be discussed below.

Islam also includes a large body of social legislation, and that which is pertinent to this study has already been indicated. The use of alcoholic beverages, 602

The use of alcoholic beverages,
gambling, and the eating of pork (as well as certain other 262
"unclean" animals) are specifically prohibited in the Quran. [525]
The chieftains and commoners, more as a matter of taste [273]
than of piety, infrequently break the first two of these [183]
demands. The government elite, as has been noticed, finds
its chief diversion in them. No one in the three groups,
including the several Christians among the officials, ever
eats pork. There was a peculiar tale current in the town [773]
of a Kurdish tribe "somewhere in the mountains" who eat
the flesh of swine, but it is probably fabulous, like the
bears who carry off women as mates or the numerous accounts
of buried treasure. The Nestorians, however, hunt the wild
boar and eat it. Blasphemy, as a matter of exclamation, is 779
an everyday affair, but in all the groups of the town it
was impossible to find anyone who challenged religion.
Some of the better educated officials and teachers, to be
sure, exhibited views which might be termed "liberal," but
none was a serious unbeliever. There is perhaps a reason [182]
for this, the almost religious regard for all written or
printed material, so common in the Middle East. A teacher,
confronted by the Quran on one hand and an atheist pamphlet
on the other, is convinced that in some way both are true,
because both are printed, and can either be reconciled or
exist, equally valid, side by side.

The Muslim religious calendar is lunar, dated from 805
the flight of the Prophet from Mecca in 622 A.D., and consists of twelve months. Because it is based on the rotation
of the moon about the earth, rather than that of the earth

about the sun, it falls short several weeks each year in relation to solar reckoning. 1953, for example, is 1372 years after the Flight in Muslim calculation and only 1331 in our own. The terminology of this calendar is Arabic, although the Kurds have their own words for the days of the week and the seasons. The government uses both the Muslim and the Gregorian systems, and Friday is the weekly holiday. Turning to the Muslim festivals observed by the townspeople, the first occurs on the tenth day of the first lunar month (*Muharram*), the legendary date of many important events, particularly the martyrdom of Husayn, the grandson of the Prophet. In Shiite areas this day and those immediately preceding it furnish the occasion for the most extravagant ceremonies, including a dramatic recitation of the martyrdom and public displays of mourning in which the participants often beat and lacerate themselves. In Rowanduz, however, it is only a day for special prayer and meditation. "The people pray for Hasan and Husayn," it was said, "but there are no demonstrations of grief." The most important date is the *Mawlid al-Nabi*, "the birthday of the Prophet," which comes on the twelfth day of the third month (*Rabi' al-Awwal*). This is a day of celebration on which banquets are held and the servants are given small presents, but the display is not great compared with the two festivals to follow. 805 [527] 796

The ninth lunar month, *Ramadan*, is that in which absolute fasting is required between sunrise and sunset of every Muslim. It begins on the eve in which the moon 785 796

appears, and, although elaborately printed calendars of the 785
month offering astronomical data are sent out to the 796
villages and towns by pious persons of wealth or commercial establishments in Baghdad, the townspeople prefer the evidence of their own eyes. One is supposed to fast, taking neither food nor water, from that time in the early morning when the colours of a black and white thread can be discerned until the moon is perceptible in the evening.
On a hill above the town an old iron cannon, said to have 785
belonged to Kor Pasha, is half-buried in the dirt, and its 796
muzzle, pointing out into the valley, is tied between two 97 207
short poles. For some weeks previous to the first evening of this month, the barber and *darwish*, Hajji Mustafa, had collected a great quantity of rags and taken charge of a donation of black gunpowder. On the eve a large crowd of children gathered on the hill near the gun, and cheered and sung while Hajji Mustafa cavorted before them, loading the necessary powder and a charge of rags. When he received a signal from the roof of the mosque, relayed from the *mulla*, the cannon was fired and the children roared their approval. "My gun," Hajji Mustafa boasted proudly, "can be heard in Erbil." The weapon is fired on each evening until the end of the month, and serves to indicate
when the townspeople may break their fast. During the 785
nights of Ramadan, there is much visiting and many ban- 796
quets during the first few weeks. The shops are open 879
late at night, and the streets are lighted with lanterns.

Twice during the night, Hajji Mustafa makes a round of the streets, drumming loudly on his giant tambourine. At various points he stops and shouts, *Salawat, salawat 'ala al-Nabi,* "Prayers, prayers for the Prophet," and in between these stages he sings various songs in Kurdish of his own devising. These two parades are to inform people that they may arise and enjoy another meal before sunrise, but, inasmuch as Hajji Mustafa and the pack of dogs which follows him make a great uproar, there is a certain amount of discontent. "Curse Hajji," the investigator's landlord grumbled, as he rose from his bed in the courtyard. 785 796 [207] [578]

Four weeks of absolute fasting between sunrise and sunset are not without hardship, particularly for those who must continue to labor. It is considered improper to smoke on the streets, and only one tea-shop, carefully masked, is allowed to remain open during the day. A number of persons make no pretense of keeping the fast, although they do not demonstrate this fact in public, and others, beginning with good resolve, fall from grace after a number of days. It is interesting that Hajji Mustafa, the person who fires the evening gun and makes the nocturnal announcements, the "religious fanatic," for want of a better term, did not feel bound by such restraints, considering that his extraordinary relationship with God absolved him from the ordinary demands of the faith. Quarrels and fights are more frequent during Ramadan than any other season of the year, and there are "secret eaters" [579] who suffer from guilty consciences. As a concession to the faith, the government elite forswear their drinking and gambling parties. Many persons suffer greatly in keeping the fast, and one may exchange greetings with a number whose throats were so parched by afternoon they could barely speak. The younger children and the ill, it might be noted, are not required to fast. The twenty-seventh evening of the month (Arabic, laylat al-qadr, "the Night of Power," in which the Prophet was first addressed by the Angel Gabriel) is marked by special prayers and devotional exercises. 785 786

The month of fasting is ended by the appearance of the new moon, and this night begins Jazhni Ramazan (Arabic, 'Id al-saghir, "the Lesser Feast"), the festival which occupies the first three days of the tenth month (Shawwal). This is an occasion of the greatest festivity. Almost every family has purchased a sheep or a goat in advance, and these are slaughtered. Their flesh is used in banquets or given to the extremely poor. Everyone in the household puts on their finest attire, and the children receive new clothing and gifts. Presents of money and food are given by the wealthy to their servants and the poor. Family gatherings, accompanied by the largest and best meal the household can afford, take place, and there is public dancing. 786 527 [536] [432] [535]

The last festival of the Muslim year observed in Rowandus is Jazhni Qurban (Arabic, 'Id al-kabir, "the Greater Feast") which begins on the tenth day of the 786 twelfth lunar month (Dhu al-Hijja). This corresponds to 796 the day at Mecca when the pilgrims assembled there are ritually sacrificing an animal at Mina outside the city. Every family in Rowanduz who can afford the expense purchases a sheep [782] or goat for a sacrifice in communion with the pilgrims on the first day of Jazhni Qurban, and the head of the victim is turned toward Mecca as its throat is cut. This feast lasts three or four days, and is identical in character with that ending Ramadan, although perhaps lacking some of the intense exuberance caused by the end of the fast. During both of these festivals, persons greet each other cheerily, and the atmosphere is similar to that of our own Christmastide.

Apart from the lunar Muslim calendar, two observances 527 must be mentioned which are reckoned by the solar year. The first of these is Sayran or Sayrani Bahar (also identified in Rowanduz as Kara Charshamba, "Black Wednesday," [105] in border Turkish and as Nawroz in Persian). This corresponds to the season of the Vernal Equinox, usually occurring in the last weeks of March, and in antique usage the beginning of the New Year. The connection of the celebrations with paganism is obvious and need not be explored here. "In the spring every Wednesday for several weeks is supposed to be a holy day," it was said, although there was no verbal reference to any religion, Muslim or otherwise. On these Wednesdays, the townspeople, both men and women, go out into the countryside in family parties, taking food and drink with them. The day is passed out of dance at some favored spot, such as the waterfall of Baykhal, and there is dancing accompanied by flutes and drums. It might be mentioned that on these days, as well as *Jezhnai Qurban*, many persons, particularly the girls, stain their hands with henna, just as at a wedding. 527 [53] [302]

The second observance is concerned with the curious figure of Khidir Alyas and takes place in the autumn. "The *mulla* has nothing to say about Khidir Elyas, nor does he tell the people when the days come. A few people do not recognize these days." Khidir Alyas (Arabic, *Khidir*, "the Green One," and *Ilyas*, Elijah) is a peculiar character of folklore, the belief in whom is singularly widespread in the Middle East. He has been discussed in some detail in a large number of works treating popular religion in the Islamic world, and appears to be a synthesis of such heroes of romance as Gilgamesh, Moses, Elijah, and Alexander the Great.[1] In Upper Egypt there are supposed to be two persons who travel together, Khidir and Ilyas, and in other places only the one. His salient characteristics are his power to confer blessings and his immortality, for he is believed to have drunk from the Fountain of Life. The following narrative was recorded in Rowanduz: [183] 773 776

> Khidir Alyas is a holy man who lives forever. He walks at night and chases away evil spirits. Whoever experiences misfortune need only cry out to him for aid. One night I was bringing a load of rice to Rowanduz by mule. The mule lost his footing and fell. I shouted, "O Khidir Alyas, I have [492]

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[1] For example, Tritton, 1951, p. 49.

> fasted for you and you should come to my help." 773
> Out of the night a man appeared who asked me my 776
> difficulty. He helped me get the mule to his
> feet and reloaded the rice. The two of us were walking
> along together, talking, and suddenly I discovered
> I was alone. Khidir Elyas lived long ago and God
> gave him such power to do good that he disappeared.
> This is why people ask his help while he is gone.
> When Jesus will come again with Ahmed the Mahdi,
> Khidir Elyas must be with them, for otherwise they
> cannot come.

Persons in Rowanduz who choose to do so fast "for Khidir 785
Elyas" for three days in the fall. Between sunrise and 782
sunset they do not allow themselves food, drink, or tobacco.
Others distribute gifts of food or clothing to the poor. [735]
Housewives make a sweet called *Halawat Khidir Elyas* [263]
which is exchanged between households at this time. The [431]
exact dates of the observance could not be obtained, save
that it "came just before winter." This interesting [183]
custom does not have the sanction of the *mullas* and the
purists in the town, and is not followed by all.

With the *Nauroz* and Khidir Elyas observances, the "official" faith of Islam has been left behind, and the next subject of popular religion which requires consideration is the matter of the *shaikh* or holy man. Occasionally, this title is aristocratic and inherited in the male line, but it is most often accorded to persons who, because of their piety and the miraculous power they seem to enjoy, have acquired widespread reputations. Such as these can be powerful chieftains, noted for their justice, or the most humble of commoners. They are reputed to have the ability to effect miracles during their lifetimes, and this power continues to exist in their graves after death. Many of 792 [778] these graves become shrines in time, and the object of 792 pilgrimage from nearby villages. The typical indication 778 of a shrine is either a low, quadrilateral, rubble wall about the grave or a cairn of stones. Those who visit the shrine with some purpose characteristically tie a piece [782] of white rag on the end of a pole and lean the pole against the inner surface of the wall. Some shrines have bundles of these crude banners standing in them. The meaning of the rag is variable. In some cases the visitor will return and reclaim it, incorporating it in a charm, while in [777] others it is simply the sign of a vow that the suppliant, if the *shaykh* buried there will bring about the desired favor, will sacrifice so many animals or give so much money to the poor. The most auspicious days, it might be [777] noted, to visit a shrine are Wednesdays and Thursdays. The six most noted shrines near the town of Rowanduz are as follows:

1. *Shaykh Piri Havili* near the village of Kani Rash. Shaykh Piri Havili is said to have lived about two hundred years ago, "in the time of Kor Pasha."
2. *Shaykh Ba'ili Galliawrad* near the village of Saran. The shrine is said to be very old, dating perhaps from the time of the Islamic conquest.
3. *Shaykh Saran* in the village of Saran itself. Shaykh Saran is said to have died about fifty years ago.
4. *Shaykh Tre Sheriban* on the road to Rawlak. "No one knows how old it is, but it is very ancient."
5. *Shaykh Muhammad* or *Shaykh Malla*, the second most famous shrine in the district, at Hajji Umran.
6. *Shawkal Shaykh Muhammad* or *Shawkal Mala*, "The sheepfold of Shaykh Muhammad," near the shrine of

> Shaykh Muhammad at Hajji Umran. This is the most famous of the group and is believed to effect miraculous cures. It is said that the Shepherd used to take out the sheep of Shaykh Muhammad each day. The pasturage was not good, and Shaykh Muhammad wondered why his sheep were so fat and healthy. One day he concealed himself and was amazed to see the Shepherd fly off through the air, with the sheep flying behind him in a line, to some rich, faroff mountain meadow. Thus Shaykh Muhammad learned of the power of this man, and asked the people to visit the Shepherd[1]'s grave before his own. A merchant in Rowanduz, one 'Abd al-Sattar, claimed to have cured an ailment which he described as "sand in the urine" by drinking water obtained near this shrine. 778 792 [778] [755]

Some of these shrines may be of considerable antiquity, and an indication of this is the fact that they are in most cases associated with trees. In a region which has almost been denuded of heavier timber, it is striking to find a lone oak on some barren hillside with the grave of a holy man beneath its branches. The townspeople of Rowanduz were unable to comment on this association, but investigation among the villagers might reveal some interesting views. It seems quite clear, however, that a pagan survival is represented here, a complex dating from a time in which some religious significance was attached to trees or groves. It might be remarked that cutting down such a tree, however great the need for wood, was believed to bring the greatest catastrophe. People visit these shrines for a variety of reasons, those suffering from some "incurable" malady, women who wish a male child, or men who believe themselves hampered by misfortune. The magical power in the person of the holy man, alive or dead, is termed barakah 778 124 [177] 778

(Arabic, "blessing"), and provides a good example of what is classified as mana in most standard works on primitive religion, an amorphous supernatural power which has a seat in certain persons or objects from which it may be transmitted. 778

The power of these holy men, unless they themselves are disturbed in some way, is wholly benevolent. The people of Rowanduz also believe in jinni (the same noun as in Arabic), spirits who, in contrast, characteristically cause great harm. There does not appear to be much thought about ghosts. No one in Rowanduz knew of a house "haunted" by the spirit of a dead man, and equated the European notion of "ghost" with that of the jinni. The jinni, for example, might take possession of a building and drive the inhabitants out. They are held to be evil spirits who constitute a separate order of creation, like the birds or the animals, and are not necessarily related to mankind. At night one must never pour hot water out of the door without first saying, "In the name of God." Although there are no cats in Rowanduz, it was said that one must never kill such an animal, because "the jinni is born in a cat and might harm one." When a boy is out walking in the wild countryside, it is believed that a voice often calls out to him, "asking him to come and meet the father," that is, the parent of the jinni who is the Fallen Angel Eblis of Islamic demonology. If the boy is foolish and leaves his path as directed, the jinni throws him from 776 [775] [782] [825]

the mountainside, causing his death. The luckless lad 776
then meets the father of the _jinni_ in fact, for his soul [775]
descends to the inferno. The Kurds also speak of _shaitan_
("satan," used in the Quran and the Arabic derivation of
the Hebrew word for "adversary"), evilish beings like the
jinni, but of a more congenial and ingenious character
than the _jinni_. "When the first phonograph was heard in [316]
Rowanduz," Ra'uf Effendi related, the people said there
was a _shaitan_ in it." There are two tales of malicious [759]
men and women who are able to change themselves into animals,
such as dogs. The townspeople, however, are far from
demon-ridden, and, outside of a few precautions against [521]
jinni, these are largely matters of conversation, pertinent
to the rare discussions of religion in the tea-shops.

In contrast, _chaw pis_, "the evil eye," is a subject 759
of the greatest concern. One who has the evil eye may by 761
his glance alone bring destruction to a person or an
object. The interesting characteristic of the evil eye is
that its possessor may be unaware of it and is normally
without malice. If, for example, a childless woman looked
on the son of a neighbor, that fleeting moment of jealousy
and malevolence she experienced, which [illegible] the
evil eye itself, can cause the death of the child in
question. Ra'uf Effendi's son had sickened and died, and
he states flatly that this had been due to the evil eye.
Further, it is believed that the individual who at one
time or another has this unfortunate power cannot always

be blamed for it, and there is no witch-hunting on its account. The damage is done in the single glance, and there is no known technique for averting the inevitable catastrophe once it has been initiated. 754 761

On the other hand, preventive charms are great in number. First among them are those derived from the Quran, slips of paper on which certain passages have been written or copies of the work itself. The scrolls can be obtained in metal cases which are worn about the throat, sometimes as a part of the jewelry, but are more commonly stitched in cloth pockets hung on a string around the neck or pinned to the shoulder. Metal disks inscribed with the name of God are also in use, as well as expensive types of pendants which exhibit complete paragraphs from the Quran. Two popular items made up into charms are imported from Iran, irregularly shaped bits of turquoise or blue porcelain and small white sea-shells. These are pierced and either strung on a thread or kept in a cloth bag. One charm is to sew two grass beads in a piece of cloth, another is a piece of pumice wrapped in a cloth, and a third, called [illegible], consists of two pieces of the yellow bark of a certain tree hung on a string with a yellow bead between them. A piece of cloth from the grave of a holy man may be incorporated in some packets. An interesting symbol, a wheel whose four spokes are filled with geometric designs, is painted on the walls of houses or embroidered on cloth and sewn on the garments of children. 751 777 801 [illegible] 751 777 [537] children. That a blue porcelain plate or a pair of old shoes is often installed beside the door of a house has been noticed. An iron horseshoe, as in America, may also be nailed above a door or on a wall. A human hand cut out of metal, the "Hand of Fatima" spoken of previously, is often found in jewelry. Adults seem to require little protection against the evil eye, but younger children, particularly males, almost always have charms pinned to their garments and their cradles are hung with them. Houses and animals are similarly protected. There is some rationalization of these charms. Those derived from the Quran have a power within them. The others, apart from their intrinsic qualities, deflect the glance of the evil eye from the object in question to themselves, a sort of magnetic property, because of their bright colour, their design, or something else.

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[301]
[754]

Charms such as these have a variety of origins. Miniature copies of the Quran, metal disks, beads, pieces of turquoise, and shells are imported by the merchants and sold in the _bazaar_, not only to the townspeople, but to the villagers among whom they are always in great demand. Slips of paper on which appropriate Quranic verses have been written may be obtained from one of the _mullas_ or some other literate specialist. Cloth from the tomb of a holy man is easily obtained. Most persons assemble their own combinations, stitching them in cloth bags which are worn about the neck or pinned to the garments. Many of these are not solely to ward off the evil eye, but have other purposes. The bodyguard of a chieftain might carry one which protects him from gunfire, and a great number are used to cure bodily ills. One of the *mullas* makes a practice of writing charms of this type. Such pieces of paper are usually soaked in water and the liquid is then imbibed. Recently a poor woman with some complaint visited the medical officer and the latter wrote her a prescription which could have been filled in Erbil. Under the impression that the medical officer, who neglected to explain the matter to her, operated like the *mulla*, the woman took the piece of paper to her home, mixed it with water, and drank if off. It might be mentioned that she was cured, and, the doctor said, reappeared the next day to request an identical piece of paper as insurance against the illness in the future. There are many amateur practitioners of white magic in the town, *dervishes*, midwives, and others, some of whom demand fees and others not. The barber, Hajji Mustafa, has one panacea for all ills. He ties a piece of string about the patient's wrist and "prays" over it. The investigator was furnished with some almost classical rationalizations, of illnesses, for example, "If a man is bitten by a mad dog, he will be cured when the dog is killed." 751 777 755 756 755 792

The *dervish* (from a Persian word meaning "poor" and adopted into Arabic in this sense) occupies a position of considerable importance in everyday life. It is unnecessary here to discuss the origins and the character of the *dervish* 756 792 movement as it evolved in the Medieval Islamic world, a development which corresponds to the rise of monasticism in the Christian states of Europe. Men were attracted to it for a variety of motives, some great in wealth or learning who dabbled in its esoteric lore, others sincerely devoted to the service of their faith and mankind, clever charlatans who lived off the bounty of the gullible, mystics, revolutionaries, and a host of others. In short, it offered many things to many persons. There are two *darwish* disciplines in Kurdish Iraq, the Qadiriya order (founded by 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani who died in 1166 and whose tomb in Baghdad is the foremost Sunnite shrine in Iraq) and the Naqshbandiya order (originally begun in Central Asia in the fourteenth century). To illustrate the contrasting types of *darwish*, it might first be noted that the chief *mulla* of Rowanduz, 'Abd al-Karim Effendi, is a member of the Naqshbandiya order. Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Effendi, in the judgment of the townspeople and the government elite, is an intelligent, realistic person whose interest seems to be purely intellectual. On the other hand, the most extravagant mystic in the lower ranks of the townspeople, Hajji Mustafa the barber, is a member of the Qadiriya order, and the reader will be able to appreciate something of his motives below. 756 792

In a district like that of Rowanduz, men can ascend in society only by dint of considerable personal ability along certain lines. It has been noticed how youths, 557 644

impatient with normal routine and anxious of prestige, 557 644
attach themselves to the chieftains as _gholam_ or body-guards. It follows, in addition, that among the commoners 792
there are a number of men whose attainments have brought them little as far as wealth and social standing are concerned. With such dissatisfied persons are others, the usual aberrant members of any community whose eccentricities have been adjudged harmless to others. Such as these are absorbed into the _darwish_ movement, because, on the one hand, it offers social status of an extraordinary sort and, on the other, a channelled expression for personal peculiarities which might otherwise prove dangerous. It would be unwise to typify a _darwish_ of the lower classes without first having dealt with the individual in question, for he might prove to be a hard-working craftsman in one case and a person mentally deficient in another. To become a _darwish_ is almost identical to joining an American fraternity or lodge. One is initiated into its "secrets" by the elder members, and becomes a party to its exclusiveness. Like the lodge member, the _darwish_ believes himself to be set apart from the mass of men by virtue of the superior knowledge with which he has been invested. The secret of almost all _darwish_ orders is 792
the same, although differently phrased, a personal 781
relationship to God which bypasses the usual conventions of the faith. This relationship, when translated into the combination of song and dance, can produce that form [158]

of hypnosis conventionally described as religious ecstasy. 792
A Nestorian guide said that one day he had encountered 781
Hajji Mustafa and twenty or thirty of his fellows marching [158]
along a lonely road, beating tambourines and singing, in
a state of complete frenzy. "I am a good friend of Hajji
Mustafa," the Nestorian said, "and have known him for
years, but he did not seem to see me." Hajji Mustafa
was present at this conversation, and confirmed his detachment with no little pride.

The darwishes can be organized into regular groups, 792
for example, there are some villages in which the entire
adult male population belong to an order, or can operate
alone. One individual pointed out as a darwish visited
Rowanduz from time to time dressed in a ragged brown
cassock bound at the waist with a piece of rope and obtained money from amused patrons in the tea-shops by
swallowing large pebbles. The sums thus realised he spent
on food and drink. This person was generally considered [221]
demented, and was occasionally locked up by the police
for his outbursts. The chief exhibition of their power 792
by most darwishes, however, is snake-charming. The de- 789
tection and handling of poisonous reptiles is considered
the best evidence of a darwish's supernatural abilities
and is subject to loud display. It is commonplace in
Rowanduz to see some darwish, back from a snake-hunt,
wandering among the guests in a tea-shop with a squirming
specimen clutched in each hand. These snake-charmers [158]
often seem to be in a trance-like state, their eyes

dilated and bloodshot, as they hoarsely reiterate their achievements. They are also supposed to be able to "read" over those who have been bitten by snakes and effect their cure. They sell or give outsiders lumps of sugar on which certain symbols have been scrawled. If eaten, this sugar is believed to confer the power of snake-charming. They have other exhibitions, such as mutilating their bodies in various ways without experiencing pain. Hajji Mustafa exhibited his forearms which were covered with scars from past demonstrations. In addition to these displays and their tumultuous meetings, the *darwishes* commonly practice white magic for those who seek their aid, but are for the most part engaged in everyday employment. 791 779 [778] [783]. [754]

The *darwishes* usually wear the garb of the countryside. Hajji Mustafa wore Kurdish trousers and shirt, but disdained the sash. His headdress consisted of a [illegible] with a turban wound flat about it as in the case of the *mullas*. On formal occasions, for example, when he was called to the serai in connection with firing the Ramadan cannon, Hajji Mustafa added a light brown Arab cloak and carried a walking-stick or staff. Some *darwishes* bind their waists with the rosary of 99 wooden beads. The tools of Hajji Mustafa's *darwish* activities, observed in his house, consisted of a flag, an old rifle, a sword, a huge tambourine perhaps three feet in diameter, a begging bowl (the traditional badge of the *darwish*) made of a large hollowed gourd with a strap for carrying it over the shoulder, and a tattered copy of the *Shajara* (Arabic, "tree") of 'Abd 791 [291] [301] [766] [illegible] al-Qadir al-Jilani. It might be noted that Hajji Mustafa was illiterate, but he loved to thumb through this "book of secrets" in public. 792 413

To illustrate further the character of the darwish. It is useful here to include the autobiography of Hajji Mustafa, which also provides an interesting commentary on life in Rowanduz. The story was recorded in the garden of Shakir Effendi with the latter present to verify some of its episodes. With the exception of the account of the *journey* to Iran disguised as a *Jew*, which sounds distinctly anecdotal, Hajji Mustafa's tale seems credible at most points, aside from its exaggerations. Certain lengthy parts of the narrative have been omitted or condensed, and others rearranged with respect to the chronology. 157 792 [124]

> My real name is Mustafa only, but my name as a darwish is Khalifa Hajji Mustafa Rowanduzi. I am now almost sixty years of age and I have had nine wives in my life, seven Muslims, one Christian, and one *Jew*. My present wife is a girl of Rowanduz who is twenty years of age. I have five children living, and of them two are boys and three are girls. One of the boys is [illegible] who helps in my shop and the other is an infant. [571] [771]

> I was born in Rowanduz and the name of my father was 'Abd al-Rahim Hasan 'Usman, a merchant here. I never went to school, but always played in the streets. The parents of the other children used to complain because I threw stones at the school-boys and broke their heads. One day my father said to me, "Mustafa, my son, you must have a trade. It is bad that you never do anything except play in the streets and cause trouble." "I have a trade whenever I want it," I told him, "I can command an army." I gathered fifty children of the town and we equipped ourselves with wooden rifles and swords. I divided the army into halves, one under myself and the other under my cousin's son. We fought several battles, and one day there were many casualties. The parents of the children who had [857]

[illegible]

beat hurt went to the Turkish police, and I was taken to the serai. The policeman was a Turk named 'Ali Efendi. He asked me what I was doing and what this "army" was. He swore that if I told the truth he would not hurt me. I explained that my army was only a game. He asked to see how this army operated, so I gathered the children before the serai. We stood in straight lines with our wooden rifles and swords. When 'Ali Efendi saw this drill, he was amused and let me go free.

By this time I was becoming a man, and was perhaps fifteen years of age. I went to a barber in the town and told him I wanted to learn the trade. He was afraid of me, however, because I always joked with him, telling him that I was going to hit the policeman, and I was forced to leave. Then another Turkish pasha, [illegible], came with several hundred soldiers. I took service with him, becoming a postman and a spy for the Turks. I used to carry the mail to Lake Van, a long journey on foot during which I was shot at many times. I also accompanied caravans to Azerbaijan as a muleteer. With one such caravan there was a Jew. One day he took me aside, and asked me to disguise myself as a Jew so that we could collect money from the Jewish community in Urmia. To do this I shaved my head, leaving only a lock over one ear, and took the name [illegible]. When we arrived at our destination in Azerbaijan, we went to the synagogue. The Jew kissed the rabbi's hand and spoke with him in Hebrew. He told him that I had threatened to become a Muslim. The rabbi came to me and said, "[illegible], my son, why do you want to become a Muslim?" "I have no money and none of the Jews help me," I said. "I must support my two sisters." The Jews collected fifty tomans and gave it to me. They also brought meat and drink to the synagogue for a banquet. While they were dining, I asked to use the latrine. I locked the latrine door on the inside and jumped from the window. Then I walked around in front of the building where the rabbi and the other Jews were sitting beside next to a big window. I shouted up to them, "Do you think I am a Jew? There is no God but God, and Muhammad is the apostle of God!" Then I walked away, laughing because they dared not touch a Muslim. When they heard this they started beating the first Jew, the one who had asked me to disguise myself and had introduced me, the one who had hoped to gain half of the fifty tomans. Soon the [illegible] arrived and they asked this man why he was being beaten. He said, "I am only a poor Jew of Rowanduz who came here to buy goods, and these people have demanded my money.

[2015]

I had only a little, so they started whipping me." [illegible]
"How much did they take?" the [illegible] officer asked. [illegible]
"Fifty rupees," he answered, and the officers ordered the other [illegible] to pay the sum unless they wanted to be beaten also.

When the Russians came to Rowanduz, my family fled to Erbil. I was then about twenty years of age. My father lost all his wealth and became destitute. I told him not to worry, because I could find him the best possible livelihood. I went to a barbershop belonging to a man named [illegible]. He was shaving one man and another was waiting his turn. I told the customer waiting to be seated, equipped myself with a razor and a towel, and began shaving him. "Who are you and what are you doing?" [illegible] asked me. "This is not your affair," I answered. "What?" he shouted, "Get out of here. I do not want you." "If you do not want me," I said, "I want you." He was pleased with this answer, and kept me with him for some time. Gradually the war caused things to become worse, and the customers disappeared. I had to have money for my family, so I bought a bowl and filled it with coloured sand. I went through the streets of Erbil crying, "Doctor! Doctor! I can cure all illnesses!" People asked me to come into their houses, but I refused until they paid a fee. When I received the money, I went in and poured my sand on the face of the sick man, reciting from the Quran. I gave these sums to my father, but the Turks marched him and my brother to Turkey and they were never seen again. I managed to escape this march. [illegible] [illegible]

When the war ended, the British came to Iraq. I was then in the service of a notable named [illegible] in Shaqlawa. There was a Major [illegible] in the district who spoke Kurdish, and, when he heard from [illegible] what a clever man I was, he took me with him to Rowanduz. He gave me the job of giving food to 200 families of Rowanduz I had known in my childhood. While I was working for the British, all of the Kurds revolted under Shaikh Mahmud and I ran away to Erbil again. On my return to Rowanduz, I opened a tea-shop, but the business failed. After that I opened a shop to sell roasted meat, but the work was too dirty for me. Finally I went to an American merchant named [illegible], and he entrusted me with goods worth 2000 rupees to sell in the villages around Rowanduz. When I returned, I found I had 500 rupees profit. I took this money to [illegible], and he said that because I was industrious and honest I could keep it as a gift. I made several other trips for [illegible], always profitable, but I found travelling for this purpose bothersome. I took my money and opened a shop in Rowanduz to sell groceries. When [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] this prospered, I obtained a contract to furnish the army with fresh vegetables. I became thus a man of some wealth. [illegible]

There was a man in Rowanduz who had great influence, Sayyid [illegible] Effendi [illegible]. He begged me to become mukhtar, representative of the people to the government. [illegible] Effendi [illegible] of this. He advised me not to do it, because I did not have great wealth. I did not listen and the qaimaqam posted an order which appointed me mukhtar of the town. I sought [illegible] Ma'af and [illegible] him into a narrow street. "Now I am mukhtar of Rowanduz," I told him. Everyone came to visit me, however, and I had to give them free food and clothing. I lost my money, and had to sell my horse, my pistol, and most of my wardrobe. Finally, I had to give up being mukhtar and Ma'af Effendi was given the post again. [427] [574]

After this, I became sanitary inspector for the baladiya, the municipality. I asked the qaimaqam to give me full authority, and Rowanduz was never so clean. I hired a man to shout in the streets that by order of [illegible] said any person who was found throwing rubbish or dirty water in the streets or who neglected to sweep in front of his house or who sold food with dirt in it would be fined. The fine was five dinars, a large sum. I also ordered that those selling food or [illegible] should have their plates shine like silver. I gathered the butchers together and told them they must cover their meat with white gauze to keep off the flies. I carefully inspected the weights, and I found that many merchants were selling less than the proper measures. I covered the top of the stream which gives Rowanduz its water with barbed wire and forbade anyone to bathe in it. No person had the right to wash his feet or his clothes in it. When people saw me, they ran for miles. On my reports, the government collected 170 dinars from the people of Rowanduz, [illegible], and [illegible]. My salary was not large, however, and no one appreciated what I was doing. People complained to the qaimaqam about my fines and my orders, and I had to leave the post. [illegible]

Then I left this job and went back to my old trade as a barber. You have seen my shop in the bazaar and you know that I am the best barber in Rowanduz. I became a dervish and a khalifa (caliph, "successor," presumably to the Prophet) by studying with some sheikhs, and now I am a great teacher with students of my own. I teach them such things as striking themselves without pain, piercing their flesh with skewers, and [illegible]. I make up poems and songs in Kurdish. My present duties are to prepare [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

> people for burial, to perform circumcision, to fire the gun for Ramadan, to play the tambourine, to assist at ceremonies of all sorts, and to help people. I can cure illnesses by my own medicines. I have now left everything in this world which is bad, and have started my prayers. 659 98 [50]

Sayyid Husain, of whom Hajji Mustafa speaks above, was one of the most distinguished residents of Rowanduz, although not a native of the town. He died some years ago, and his house is still pointed out. Sayyid Husain was not directly concerned in the feud between Nuri Bawil agha and Isma'il Beg, although he was an adherent of the latter, but was closely bound up with Kurdish revolutionary activities. He was a writer, and operated the first Kurdish press in Iraq. The investigator possesses a postage stamp of the "Government of Southern Kurdistan," printed by Sayyid Husain for the short-lived "reign" of Shaykh Mahmud. Sayyid Husain was engaged in a number of enterprises, some of them questionable from the government's point of view, and Hajji Mustafa, although he neglected to mention the fact, was one of his men. Hajji Mustafa also failed to relate how, during the second World War, he and several other adventurers procured police uniforms and levied customs duties from lorries going from Iran to Iraq at a point several miles in advance of the real customs station. The drivers were surprised to have to pay their tolls a second time and there was an investigation, but Hajji Mustafa escaped indictment. This exceptional man, who, in the course of his life, had been a barber, government employee, highwayman, itinerant trader, merchant, mullah, [illegible], owner of a tea-shop,

659 [630] [469] [385] [579] [60] 659 46?

pantomime, quack doctor, roaster of meat, servant, and spy, 159
illustrates the personality of many of the *dervishes*, as well [861]
as the diversity of occupations which a townsman can experience in the Rowanduz area. A cheerful egotist, he discovered something in the *dervish* movement which offered [784]
the social status he desired, having been dissatisfied with other fields of endeavor. In spite of his statement above, [505]
he is generally acknowledged to be the worst barber in the *bazaar*, because he sacrifices attention to business to the pleasures of conversation. He and his family are tacitly supported by the house of Shakir Effendi with "gifts" of food and money. Although he is considered slightly demented, [772]
the townspeople are fond of Hajji Mustafa, who adds colour and noise to everyday life, and he is dearly loved by the children.

There are many miscellaneous beliefs to be recorded 771
in the town, some with obvious religious character and others not. As in the case of folktales, further investigation, particularly among the villagers, might provide a large body of various beliefs and practices. Several of the outstanding examples will suffice, for the purposes of this study, to illustrate the general character. When there has been a 771
drought which has assumed alarming proportions, the townspeople and villagers make processions out into the countryside to sacrifice one or more sheep. If they encounter a stream on their way, one of their number is good-naturedly thrown into it. At the same time, children make simple dolls of cloth and go from house to house. The inhabitants of

each dwelling give them a small sum and pour a little water over the dolls. Another custom is to empty a basin of water on the ground after the departure of a traveler. Browne noticed this as he was leaving Teheran: 789 [484]

> . . . as I mounted amidst many good wishes for my journey I heard the splash of water as it was thrown after me. What the origin of this curious ceremony may be I do not know, neither did I see it practised on any other occasion.[1]

In Rowanduz, Tuesday is considered to be an unlucky day for any outstanding enterprise, such as a major business transaction or a wedding. As among many primitive groups, the parings of fingernails and hair from a comb are not to be thrown away. There is no belief that they might be used in black magic, but it is considered "best" to wrap them in a bit of paper or a rag and place the packet in a crevice. A tooth is also put in a hole of some sort in the wall of the house, "in order that no one will get a headache." Dreams are, to some extent, considered to have prophetic significance. "An angel may come in a dream," it was said, "and point out the location of buried treasure." Some of the other superstitions, for example, the significance attached to bread, have been noticed in previous sections. 777 515 [755] 787 [774]

In concluding this section, it is difficult, if not impossible, to assay the piety of the inhabitants of Rowanduz as a whole. There are many of the townspeople who do not say five prayers daily or fast during Ramadan, and a large number of the chieftains seem to take their faith 771 lightly. There are, to be sure, a number of purists, old men or youthful fanatics, centered around the mullas who insist on the strict observance of the demands of the Quran and condemn those things which have grown up beyond its scope, such as the shrines of holy men or the use of charms. Those who seem to pay the least attention to religion are members of the government elite, but even they are hardly unbelievers. What is perhaps most important is the fact that Islam is a part of the daily round rather than something specially relegated to a single day of the week. Unlike the perfectionism of Christianity of the New Testament, it is a practical faith which makes few demands upon its worshippers which are incongruous with the way of the world. It is thus that one rarely, if ever, finds a person in Rowanduz who is having difficulties with his religion. Those who neglect their daily prayers or fast are assumed to make amends for this failing sooner or later and it is thought that all will be well with them. It cannot be legitimately said that the townspeople, as provincials, are closer to their religion than those of the cities, for, insofar as one has been able to observe, the urban populations of the Near Middle East are just as rigorous, if not fanatic, in their worship as those in the country. The religious complex of Rowanduz, in its multiplicity of aspects, contributes much to daily life. It does not constitute a logically consistent whole, but is rather a loose aggregate of many beliefs and practices whose origins, whether they are Islamic or

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[1] Browne, 1893, p. 174.

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[illegible]

pagan, have largely been forgotten and whose harmony is unimportant. 771

If the account of contemporary religion is related to that of Ottoman times, little can be found which indicates that this is an area of change. The chief complaint of the earlier theologians was not of increasing impiety, but rather of unorthodox practices, and this conflict of purism with popular religion is centuries old. One striking omission may be denoted, the lack of condemnation of the government elite for gambling or drinking, two diversions prohibited by the Faith, in which the townspeople find an interest. In seeking to define those places in which the collision of the modern state with Kurdish life has created conflict, it is curious to find that the forbidden amusements of the officials and officers are not used in the criticism of the new order which they represent. However, alcoholic beverages are not retailed openly in the town and the government elite amuses itself in private. It is possible that the exclusive atmosphere of these parties, together with the new and unfamiliar prestige of the officials and officers, overrides possible condemnation. Similarly, the most articulate demagogues of Kurdish independence are drawn from the official class and, insofar as they think of themselves as "progressive" like their Arab colleagues, they remain silent about such matters. It was not possible to determine whether or not the revolts of the past were partially phrased in religious terms, but it

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was repeatedly said that they were not. It is difficult [illegible] to see, however, in comparison with reactionary movements elsewhere in the Middle East that popular orators would hesitate to make use of such material in times of crisis.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

This study has had two objects, the first of which (2) has been to present a primary description of Kurdish life as observed in an administrative and mercantile center. This attempt has not been without its limitations, indicated from time to time, the chief of which is the inaccessibility of the quantitative data desirable in the definitive analysis of a people's life. Similarly, the complete account of almost any culture can reach incredible proportions, and one, in the town itself, was forced to limit the scope of his inquiries and in this presentation to omit or condense material which might overburden the discussion. Some subjects, such as Islamic law or the details of government administration, although they are an integral part of the life of the town, may properly be found elsewhere, and others, such as Kurdish folklore or music, present objects of study in themselves. Many topics, then, have not been exhausted, and further investigation, particularly among the villagers, would provide welcome amplification. Nevertheless, it is felt that the first aim has been achieved, an accurate, comprehensive description of the culture of a particular Kurdish town, which is not too encyclopedic to prevent its appreciation by anyone other than the specialist and which can provide the material for broader analyses of the economics, society, or religion of the Middle East. The value of investigation undertaken in a particular town or locale is obvious. Too often the student of the ethnology of the Middle East is forced to glean his information from the chance remarks and anecdotes of administrators, missionaries, and travelers. If such a writer happens to comment on the wedding customs of one village, and, several pages later, outlines the funeral rites of another, one cannot legitimately infer that marriage and burial are the same in both villages. A body of this type of material exists for the Kurds themselves, but it has not been thought necessary to have reference to it. One cannot take some engineer or missionary to task for an observation, seemingly incorrect, which cannot be identified with reference to a definite locale, nor does there appear to be much value in noticing their occurrence. The dangers of generalization are marked, for example, Soane, who writes: 121 [b]

> Kurdish women are comparatively free to come and go as they like; they are veiled and [illegible] by [illegible] only, for in almost all tribes they are unveiled.[1] [sic]

This statement, as has been seen for Rowanduz, is not valid. It has also been felt that a detailed comparison of life in Rowanduz with that of other groups in the Middle East would be worth little, for the student has at his disposal comprehensive, localized treatments only of the Arab Beduin, the Egyptian peasantry, and certain peoples of North Africa.

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[1] Soane, 1912, p. 398.

The most productive comparisons would be with the Turks or the Persians, but, unfortunately, no such monographs are as yet available. To utilize the scanty and widely scattered materials on Turkish or Persian life would be at best haphazard. This study of Rowanduz, with certain exceptions, stands by itself, in the belief that it will afford accurate data for the comparative treatments of the future. 114 121

Something of the content of Kurdish life, as observed in Rowanduz, has been presented. It has been seen that the town dominates, partly in an administrative and partly in a commercial way, a large agricultural district. The bulk of the townspeople are merchants, craftsmen, and servants who depend for their livelihood on commerce with the villagers and the patronage of government personnel. The basis of the town's importance is both economic and political. Life within the household, the structure of society, and religion have been treated. What is perhaps of great importance is the ample demonstration that the Kurds are not savages devoid of culture, that they are not all "robbers" and need not "kill six or seven men" in order to be respected. With the exception of revenge and blood feuds, the district is relatively peaceful and normally one is rarely in danger of molestation. The old brigandage, carried on largely by the chieftains as a lucrative diversion, was directed against commercial travelers who could protect themselves from it by the simple expedient of sending "gifts" in advance. A district population of some fifty thousand 105 [61] could scarcely support itself by robbery alone. It is interesting that the Arab Bedouins, among whom the vendetta and brigandage are just as well marked, are not often accused of being a race of savages and criminals. The Bedouin, unlike the Kurd, has been romanticized rather than condemned by those who have had little experience with him. Kurdish life, to be sure, is not distinguished by its intellectual or artistic achievements, but, by the same token, neither is that of Medieval Scotland, Sicily, or Albania, mountainous regions inhabited by peoples of a similar temperament. The most interesting characteristic of Kurdish culture is the way in which it has been moulded by Islam, and, in this, it exhibits similarities to that of Islamic peoples everywhere. It is mute testimony to the character of Islam and to the force of its propagation in the Kurdish mountains that the peculiarities which may have obtained in pagan Kurdish society or religion have been so thoroughly submerged into a standard pattern. Aside from minor deviations, one is able to discover little which stamps him as strange or anomalous.

The second object of this study has been the delineation of the impact of the modern state on Kurdish life, and it is necessary to discuss the conclusions reached in this respect in much greater detail than in the first. The Kurds have been subjected, particularly since the Arab conquests, to rulers of one sort or another, the last of whom were the Ottoman Turks, but this control was, for the most part, superficial. Ottoman administration in Kurdistan was in reality that of a tribute empire, concerned with 648 the collection of taxes and recruits. Even in these two last tasks there was a contest, often in good humor, between the governors and the governed, and the victories were divided. As long as money and men were in reasonably good evidence, the Turks left the Kurds to their own devices. They handed down justice of a sort, but most [691] quarrels never reached their courts. They were not particularly concerned with homicide, insofar as the murdered party was not a Turk, and, above all, they did not tamper with the economic structure of society. The bulk of the [651] taxes were collected, in the best way possible, from the chieftains and landowners, never from the farmers and shepherds. The Kurds regarded these taxes, when they were forced to pay them, as a sort of levy to some superior chieftain. Matters of education or public health received [870] [740] little attention. This does not mean that in certain other areas of the Ottoman Empire there was not a complex bureaucratic government, but in Kurdistan it may be summed up as little more than desultory control. The gentle character of this administration, compared with that of today, is indicated by the fact that many Kurds look back with nostalgia to the "freedom" of Ottoman times.

In sociological theory the significant difference 121 between primitive and civilized society is held to have its 648 basis in economics. Membership in a primitive society is defined in terms of kinship relation, usually by "blood," and larger confederations of kinship groups are articulated with a similar phraseology. The Kurdish tribe, which has not been extensively discussed, represents in large part such a unit. The lands of the tribe, agricultural or pastoral, are the property of kinship groups, extended patrilineal families, as are the flocks and herds, and an individual cannot alienate them in quantity without difficulty. Chieftainship is hereditary, commonly with the democratic approval of the men of the tribe. Some chieftains are undistinguished from their tribesmen save in the size of their families' holdings, and others receive a customary share of the annual produce. The Kurdish tribe, then, is traditionally an alliance of extended patrilineal families, sometimes with the fiction of a common ancestor, and membership in the tribe depends on membership in the family, a matter of "blood" descent. Tribal life is directed by the chieftain, and the murder of a member or the theft of property by an outsider is never permitted to go unavenged.

Feudalism, an arrangement different than that of the tribe, requires no redefinition here. It is a personal exchange of duties between landlord and tenant, and is not represented in the Rowanduz district by the nomads whose society is exclusively tribal. It seems to have arisen in two ways, in the first of which the chieftains of nomadic groups took agricultural villages under their protection. One might remark again that the nomad, because of his mobility and fierceness, has a military advantage over the villagers. In the second, some powerful families, by the gradual increase of their holdings, have reached a position of dominance over their neighbors. In Kurdish feudalism the chieftain "owns" the lands of his tenants and levies a yearly tax. The terminology of feudalism, however, is that of the tribe, and, as has been noticed, a Nestorian Christian tenant may be spoken of as "belonging" to this or that chieftain's tribe and wear its traditional garb. The two systems, the tribal which is primitive in character and the feudal which is based on individual ownership of land but which is also pseudo-primitive, are intermixed in the Rowanduz district. There are men who are the leaders of tribes, others who are feudal landlords, and still others who are both. The aristocracy is undifferentiated in terms of the tribal or feudal systems, using the same titles, and is based on noble descent. The relationship between the chieftain and the tribesman or tenant is always in personal terms. Just as in the case of the tribe, the feudal landlord is expected to direct the life of his tenants and to avenge them. The commoners identify their honor with that of their chieftains and are glad to give up a share of their produce, for they partake of the prestige of their superiors. Although there is no structural detachment, the mixture of tribal and feudal systems in Kurdish Iraq is currently decentralized, segmented into hundreds of groups whose relations with one another are not always amicable. Lastly, with the exception of the Nestorian Christians, the chieftains and commoners belong to the same ethnic unit and are qualitatively undifferentiated

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with respect to culture. Feudalism, while it may not be "primitive," is here mixed with a primitive, tribal system and uses its terminology. 423 [illegible] [illegible]

121 In civilized society, in contrast to primitive, membership is not held to be based on descent but on residence and property relations, and this form of society is represented by the state. This does not mean that the state does not use the primitive terminology, for, out of numerous examples, one might remember the insistence of the National Socialist government of Germany prior to the second World war on "blood" and "race." Of greater importance, the state has a different system of economy, because, depending on its constitution, it defines its resources as its own, as the personal property of its citizens, or both. The state in this sense is not a newcomer to Iraq, inasmuch 65 as some of the earliest examples known in history were developed there, but, at least for some centuries, it has been a stranger to Kurdistan. It has been seen how, in the Rowanduz area, it has taken a large part in the administration of life. Youths are recruited to the army, not to the following of a chieftain, and the military forces and the police have the task of regulating public order. Matters of civil and criminal law are decided in its courts, and the important matters of inheritance, marriage, and divorce require its authorization. Students may, if they are able, study in its schools and the sick can avail themselves of its medical facilities. Perhaps more importantly, it has [424] insisted on the classification of land, buildings belonging

to the state, private persons, and the Islamic faith, and 65
the regular collection of taxes. If the land is unregis- [423]
tered, it prefers to obtain the revenue directly from the
users, and, if privately owned, from its legal holders. The
Arab government of Iraq cannot be said to be a model of
efficiency, but it has quantitatively superimposed an
administration far different from that of the Turks or the
chieftains.

If the changes of the last fifty years which have 177
taken place in Kurdish life are reviewed, it cannot be
said that any one aspect has been static, but in one the
alteration has been far greater than in others. Aside from
the society, the areas of discord are few in number. Items
of Western technology have been easily assimilated, and it
is not possible to allege that any self-sufficiency has
been destroyed by the introduction of manufactured goods,
for this dependency on foreign products has apparently been [439]
known for centuries. The specialization in tobacco in the [249]
district has, of course, conditioned versatility, but it
has been profitable rather than detrimental, and, in any
case, the agricultural production of the area, even at a
primitive level, is only a part of its potential. In the
house and its furnishings, the costume, the diet, life
within the family, and religion almost nothing of a struc-
tural nature has been altered or replaced. The locus of
modification, then, has been in the economy and the society,
for, not only has a new class, the government elite, been
added to compete for prestige with the native aristocracy,

but the whole structure of society, tribal and feudal, which was only lightly touched by Ottoman rule has been challenged by the modern state. 177

Coupled with the impingement of the state, represented by the monarchy of Iraq, has been the question of Kurdish nationalism. 668 The concepts of this movement are clearly a European importation. They were learned by educated Kurds, officials, officers, and teachers, of the late Ottoman Empire, probably from similarly-affected Arabs, Armenians, Greeks, and other subjects of the Sublime Porte. These Kurds, drawn from the higher ranks of Ottoman society, carried nationalism to the people, and something of their success is indicated by the fact that it is difficult to find a Kurd in the rural areas who is not voluble in political matters. Nationalism, with its extravagant vocabulary, found easy listeners in the Kurdish aristocracy. If their administrative functions were to be usurped by the government and the economic exploitation of the commoners eliminated, the chieftains were to become superfluous, although perhaps none of them said this explicitly. The Kurdish aristocracy, whose lives had been oriented around the vendetta and who led a well-armed population, reacted differently than the impotent noblemen of Tchekov's Cherry 668
Orchard or Keyserling's Abendliche Haeuser. 669 The first general revolt under Shaykh Mahmud took place in 1922 and the second in 1930. A third occurred in 1932, and the last, that of Mulla Mustafa, at the close of the second World War.

Between these dates there were many other incidents, for example, the assassination of the dictator of Iraq, General Sidqi, by a Kurd in 1937. In neighboring countries, there was a general insurrection of the Kurds in Turkey in 1925 and one in Syria in 1937. The revolt in Iraq in 1930 was common to Turkey and Iran, and that of Mulla Mustafa to Iraq and Iran. All of these were put down with difficulty, and demanded the use of aircraft, armored vehicles, artillery, and, in some cases, European troops. The states were often aided by quarrels among the Kurdish chieftains. It is interesting that the Kurds regard these conflicts with the government in the same light as tribal warfare of the type which arises from the vendetta. It has been noted how brigands and other outlaws frequently have their own private blood feuds with the authorities. Mulla Mustafa was largely driven from Iraq, not by the army, but by Mahmud Beg of the Baradost who had a personal grudge against the Barzani chief and his followers. 668 669

In order to appreciate the place of Rowanduz in this process, it is necessary to review its position. The town, as has been said, is non-tribal and, although the House of Isma'il Beg owns much of its property, is not ruled by any overlord. In this way it has been assimilated without difficulty into the economic system of the state, as opposed to that of the tribe or feudalism. All of its lands have been surveyed and classified, and the taxes are collected directly from the inhabitants. As an administrative center 632 669

It has had a new class added to its society, that of the officials and officers, and, more than any agricultural village, has been absorbed into an unfamiliar system. The government elite of the town are on an equal footing, as far as prestige is concerned, with the local aristocracy and enjoy the advantage of having the real power. Already certain changes, which might have been anticipated, are beginning to take place. A few merchants in the town have adopted the European dress of the official class, and some are determined that their sons, if humanly possible, will be educated and take a higher place in the new hierarchy of society, something previously impossible. It is in Rowanduz, then, that a new social structure is being realized as it is elsewhere, for example, among the Marsh Arabs of the southern provinces. It is one of the state of Iraq, rather than the tribal and feudal system which is characterized by the absolute difference between aristocrat and commoner. At present, the contest between the government and the Kurdish nobility has only been partially decided, but, failing some major event, it seems probable that the Kurdish chieftains will be eliminated as a distinctive class and be able to save themselves only as landowners and participate in the new regime. 493 (-1) [566] 177 555 177 (-1)

The relevance of the second object of this study to ethnology is not that it has formulated something new or unique, but that it supplements the large body of material already gathered on the transition of primitive into 121 civilized society. For the anthropologist the Middle East presents an important but little-studied area in which the impact of European civilization on those that are older, as well as societies still primitive or feudal, may provide the scene for the most productive investigation. This study has attempted a primary description of life in [illegible] and the definition of this collision, here represented by the Arabs rather than Europeans, with a little known Islamic culture. It is believed that the absorption of the conquered group into a new system of society in which advance is possible is one of the most significant trends taking place in many parts of the Middle East today. That European nationalism can cloak some of these developments, which are quite different than, say, the reaction of the Egyptian state against British imperialism, is a matter which must be taken into account. [2]

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APPENDIX

GLOSSARY OF FOREIGN WORDS

Kurdish and Persian are written in the Arabic script, with the addition of the consonants ch, g, p, and zh, and the investigator has chosen that system of transliteration into the European alphabet in use by the foremost scholars of Islam today, such as Gibb, Hitti, and Tritton. The apostrophe, for those unacquainted with this arrangement, indicates the Arabic consonant 'ayn. Two exceptions have been made. In Kurdish the diphthong "aw," as in English "now," and the long vowel "o," as in English "go," are both written in Arabic with the same diphthong. The investigator has chosen to use "aw," the conventional transcription, for the former and "o" for the latter. Secondly, the conventional English spelling, to be found in most of our dictionaries, of widely-known Turkish words, such as effendi, pasha, or serai, has been retained. The letter "A" following a transcription indicates the word is Arabic, "G," Greek, "K," Kurdish, "P," Persian, and "T," Turkish.

'aba	A	cloak, robe
adhān	A	call to prayer
agha	T	title of nobility
amīrīya	A	land of the state

'amm	A	paternal uncle
'amma	A	paternal aunt
amwāl al-aytām	A	administration of orphan's property
'araq	A	arrack, liquor distilled from grapes or dates
āsyā	P	mill
'ashīra	A	tribe
[illegible]	P	itinerant trader
āb	P	water
awqāf	A	properties willed to the faith
'īd al-kabīr	A	"The Greater Feast"
'īd al-ṣaghīr	A	"The Lesser Feast"
'aysh	A	life, bread in Egyptian Arabic
[illegible] pīr	P	grandfather
bābā	P	father
[illegible]	P	blood money
baladī	A	municipal, rustic, countrified
baraka	A	blessing
bāzār	P	market
bāzārgān	P	wholesale merchant, entrepreneur
bazzāz	P	cloth-seller, draper
beg	T	title of nobility
biryānī	P	lamb roasted whole
[illegible]	P	brother
[illegible]	P	bride, daughter-in-law

chafīya	A, Iraq	Arab headcloth
chalabī	T	gentleman
chopī	K	a dance step
chāwa pīs	K	evil eye
chāyachī	A, Iraq	owner of a tea-shop
chāyakhāna	A, Iraq	tea-shop
chikura	K	mountain partridge
dā pīr	K	grandmother
dāk, dāyk	K	mother
dāsh	K	Strength, stoutness
dawina	K	food of curdled milk and grain
darwīsh	A	"poor," religious mendicant
Dhū al-Ḥijja	A	The twelfth lunar month
dīnār	A	unit of Iraqi money, equivalent to an English pound
dishdāsha	A, Iraq	cloth garment, smock
dīwānkhāna	K	guest-room
dāyān	K	wet-nurse, foster mother
dolma	K, etc.	vegetables stuffed with meat and rice
effendi	T	title of a gentleman
Fallāḥīn	A	peasantry, particularly of Egypt
Fāqilīya	K	noble clan
fārsī	A	Persian
Fātiḥa	A	"opening," the first chapter of the Koran

fils	A	unit of Iraqi money, the thousandth part of a dinar
funduq	A	hotel, hostelry
gi	K, etc.	clarified butter, cooking oil
ghulām, ghulāme	A	servant, bodyguard in Kurdish
ghusl	A	the greater ablution before prayer
ḥājjī	A	pilgrim to Mecca
ḥākim	A	judge
ḥalawiyāt	A	candy, sweets
ḥammāl	A	porter
ḥammām	A	bath
ḥamīdīya	A	irregular troops of Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd
ḥarīm	A	women's apartments in a house
ḥashīsh	A	narcotic manufactured from hemp
[illegible]	A	mill
[illegible]	K	homosexual
[illegible]	K	afterbirth
'idda	A	period which must elapse before divorcee can remarry
imām	A, Iraq	priest of the Shiite Muslims
īmān	A	creed
islām	A	"submission" to God, the religion of Muhammad
istikān	K	glass, tumbler for tea
jāmi'	A	mosque
jāmi' al-kabīr	A	the great mosque
jejnî qurbān	K	"The Greater Feast," beginning on the tenth day of the twelfth lunar month

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[illegible]	T	"The Lesser Feast," ending the month of Ramadan
jihâd	A	the holy war against unbelievers
jirit	T	game of horsemanship
jinnî	A	a spirit, usually malevolent
kebâb	A	grilled meat
kebâbchî	A, Iraq	roaster of meat
[illegible]	T, from A	wooden clog or sandal
[illegible]	A	member of a certain Christian sect
kepir	K	brush arbor or shelter
kurmânj	K	the Kurdish language; the villagers as opposed to the nomads
kâtib al-'adl	A	government notary
kara çarşamba	T	"Black Wednesday," a festival of spring
kaza	T, from A	administrative district
khâl	A	maternal uncle
khâla	A	maternal aunt
khalîfa	A	"lieutenant," title of a dervish
khân	K, etc.	hotel, inn, a title of nobility
khânchî	A, Iraq	hotel-owner
khasû	K	mother-in-law
khasûr	K	father-in-law
Khiḍir	A	"The Green One," personage of folklore
khizâma	A	nose-ring
khwîn	K	blood

[illegible]

[illegible]	K, [illegible]	beggar
[illegible]	K	sister
[illegible]	K	girl, daughter
[illegible]	A	powdered antimony used as a cosmetic
[illegible]	K	[illegible]
[illegible]	K	boy, son
laylat al-qadr	A	"The Night of Power," the twenty-seventh evening of Ramadan
[illegible]	A, Iraq	superstitious beans used in tea
liwa	A	"banner," province of Iraq
[illegible]	A	"herdsmen," Marsh Arabs of Iraq
[illegible]	A	dowry
majlis al-a'yan	A	senate, upper house of the Iraqi legislature
majlis al-nuwwab	A	"Chamber of Deputies," lower house of the Iraqi legislature
mal	A	property
mal	K	house, family
[illegible]	K	paternal uncle
[illegible]	A	officer, official
[illegible]	K	man, husband
[illegible]	K	curdled milk, yoghurt
[illegible]	A, from G	a resinous gum
[illegible]	A	birthday
[illegible]	K	a type of shawl
[illegible]	[illegible]	hors d'oeuvres

mîr	K, etc.	title of nobility
[illegible]	K	[illegible]
mihrâb	A	niche in the wall of a mosque
minbar	A	pulpit
mu'adhdhin	A	caller of the call to prayer
mu'akhar	A	portion of a bride's dowry
mu'azzin	K	caller of the call to prayer
mudîr	A	"director," government official
Muharram	A	the first lunar month
mulla	A, Iraq	priest of the Sunnite Muslims
mukhtâr	A	head-man of village or town
muqaddam	A	portion of a bride's dowry
Muslim	A	adherent of Islam
mutasarrif	A	governor of an Iraqi province
nabî	A	prophet
[illegible]	A	slave
nâhiya	A	Iraqi administrative district
nân	K	bread
nawa	K	grandchild
nawroz	P	New Year's Day
najis	A	defiled, unclean
[illegible]	K	exchange of bread and salt
[illegible]	[illegible]	arrack, a liquor
[illegible]	K	headcloth, veil
pâshâ	T	title of nobility
[illegible]	K	nut
[illegible]	K	candy, a sweet
qadâ	A	Iraqi administrative district

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qaimmaqam	A	government official
qala'a	K	fortress
qawakhana	K	hostelry, inn
qibla	A	direction of Mecca
qubqab, qabqab	A	wooden clog or sandal
Qur'an	A	the Muslim holy book
qurs	A	female ornament, a metal disc
Rabi' al-awal	A	the third lunar month
rais baladiya	A	municipal president, mayor
rak'a	A	"bowing," a part of prayer
raki	T	arrack, a liquor
Ramadan	A	the ninth lunar month
rasul	A	apostle
ras'la	K	a dance step
rida	A	cloak, robe
rozhana	K	daily allowance
sadaqa	A	alms, optional
sa'idi	A	inhabitant of Upper Egypt
sajara	K, from A	tree
salat, salawat	A	prayer, blessing
sulha	A	peace
sanjaq	T	Ottoman administrative district
sapay'i	K	a dance step
sayran, sayrani bahar	K	spring festival
sayyid	A	lord, descendant of the Prophet's tribe
shahada	A	profession of faith

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sha'ī	K	wedding celebration and dance
shajara	A	line, genealogy
shayṭān	A	satan, devil
Shawwāl	A	the tenth lunar month
sharūgī	A	"Easterner," term for a Marsh Arab of Iraq
[illegible]	A	[illegible]
shaykh	A	"old man," religious leader, holy man
shī'a	A	"party," the following of 'Ali and his sons
[illegible]	K	baked apples
shīr	K	milk
shirwāl	A	trousers, particularly those of Turkish style
[illegible]	A, Iraq	bodyguard, private policeman
sukhra	A	corvee
sunna	A	"custom," example of the Prophet, orthodox Islam
sūra	A	chapter in the Koran
ṭā'ifa	A	tribe
ṭallaqa	A	to divorce
ṭarṭūr	A	fez, conical felt hat
ṭawlī	A, Iraq	backgammon
[illegible]	K	corvee
ṭapū	T	registered category of land
tikka	A, Iraq	grilled meat
tūmān	P	Persian coin
'umda	A, Egypt	head-man of a village or town

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

vilayet	[illegible]	Ottoman province
waqf	[illegible]	bequest to the faith
wudu	[illegible]	the lesser ablution before prayer
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]